REPORT RESUMES

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SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS CONFERENCE (NEW YORK, JUNE 16-18, 1966). TECHNICAL REPORT.
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DESCRIPTORS- *SCHOOL INTEGRATION, *EDUCATIONAL QUALITY, *EQUAL EDUCATION, EDUCATIONAL OBJECTIVES, NEGRO EDUCATION, *EDUCATIONALLY DISADVANTAGED, SCHOOL COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIP, *PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEMS, RACIALLY BALANCED SCHOOLS, SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENTS, BOARDS OF EDUCATION, COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS, EDUCATIONAL PLANNING, NEW YORK CITY,

PROCEEDINGS ARE REPORTED OF A CONFERENCE HELD JUNE 16-18, 1966, IN NEW YORK CITY BY THE U.S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION AND COSPONSORED BY THE NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE AND TEACHERS COLLEGE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, TO CONSIDER INTEGRATED QUALITY EDUCATION. ATTENDING THE CONFERENCE FROM 76 URBAN LEAGUE CITIES ACROSS THE COUNTRY WERE 84 SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENTS, 75 BOARD OF EDUCATION PRESIDENTS OR REPRESENTATIVES, 74 URBAN LEAGUE EXECUTIVE DIRECTORS, AND 71 URBAN LEAGUE BOARD PRESIDENTS, AS WELL AS 32 NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL AUTHORITIES. THE CONFERENCE WAS DESIGNED TO CREATE A CLIMATE FOR COOPERATIVE COMMUNITY PLANNING AND DIALOGUE CONCERNING PUBLIC EDUCATION AS IT SERVES THE DISADVANTAGED AND TO DEAL CONSTRUCTIVELY WITH PROBLEMS RELATED TO INTEGRATED QUALITY EDUCATION. THE GOAL OF PUBLIC EDUCATION WAS DEFINED AS ALTERING THE CHARACTER AND QUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY WHICH CHILDREN RECEIVE THROUGH THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM SO THAT ALL STUDENTS ARE PROVIDED WITH EQUAL INCENTIVES TO SUCCEED AND A SENSE OF INTEGRATED ACCEPTANCE IS FOSTERED IN EACH STUDENT. SPECIAL ATTENTION WAS GIVEN TO (1) DEVELOPING INDIVIDUALIZED APPROACHES FOR EDUCATING CHILDREN OF DIFFERING CAPABILITIES, (2) DETERMINING WAYS TO TEACH STUDENTS WITH VARYING EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL BACKGROUNDS WITHIN THE SAME CLASSROOM, AND (3) PRESCRIBING WAYS THE COMMUNITY CAN ASSIST SCHOOL OFFICIALS IN SECURING RESOURCES TO ACHIEVE THE FIRST TWO GOALS. EIGHT SUMMARY RECOMMENDATIONS FORMULATED BY WORKSHOP GROUPS OUTLINE STEPS REQUIRED FOR THE ACHIEVEMENT OF INTEGRATED QUALITY EDUCATION. (JK)

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

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BR-6-1046
PA 24

TECHNICAL REPORT
of the
SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS CONFERENCE

Co-sponsored by
TEACHERS COLLEGE - COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
Prepared for the
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
Under Contract #OEC-1-6001046-1357

Submitted: August 30, 1966
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
55 East 52 Street
New York, New York 10022

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SUMMARY REPORT OF THE
SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS CONFERENCE
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Closely related to the current crisis in public education in America is a serious lack of effective communication between professional public educators and community agencies; community leaders and the Civil Rights movement. For this reason, Teachers College-Columbia University and the National Urban League initiated a contract with the Office of Education to convene a national School Administrators Conference. The Conference was designed with a twofold objective:

1) To create a climate for cooperative community planning and continuing dialogue around the vital and compelling issues of public education as it serves the disadvantaged, and

2) To deal with the problems surrounding the concept of integrated quality education which are currently crucial to public education.

Invited to participate in the Conference was a four-man team composed of the Superintendent of Schools, President of the Board of Education, President of Urban League Board of Directors and Executive Director of the Urban League from the 76 Urban League cities across the country. Also invited were selected educational authorities from Teachers College-Columbia University and from the nation at large; and National Urban League staff members representing Administration Program, Research and Public Relations. In this unprecedented meeting, 84 School Superintendents*, 75 Board of Education Presidents or their representatives; 74 Urban League Executive Directors, 71 Urban League Board Presidents and 32 national

NOTE: * In county-wide Urban League communities, more than one School Superintendent attended.

educational authorities, assembled in New York City, June 16-18, 1966.

The Conference was structured so that the delegates were involved in morning plenary sessions where major speeches were heard and questions from the floor were entertained. Small discussion workshop groups met in the afternoon to digest the morning material and it was from these workshops that the recommendations came. Interest meetings around specific educational areas were scheduled in the evening.

For two days, anxiety and emotionalism gave way to a candid dialogue around the fundamental problems involved in improving racial balance in the schools as viewed from the position of Federal and State government, local schools and the community. This subject could not be aired without some discussion of the current crisis in American public education, although this was not the main focus of the Conference.

The goal of public education, as defined by the Conference, has as its primary responsibility the alteration of the character and quality of opportunity which children received via the public school system. The educational experience then must provide all students with equal incentives to succeed and must foster in them a sense of integrated acceptance in ways which are impossible when schools and students are racially, culturally and socially isolated. It must be pointed out that the integrated issue, although crucial, was seen as only one factor in the needed improvement in public education today. The focus was primarily on the responsibility of examining the dimensions of the educational experience and on establishing a pattern of action which will improve the quality of education for all students in the schools. In the long run it was felt that we could alter the racial balance in urban communities, but might do nothing to effect, positively or negatively, the quality of education in our schools.

The questions for discussion were: (1) How do we develop, through the processes of public education, the individualized approaches necessary to relate to the children of different capabilities? (2) How do you teach students with varying education and cultural backgrounds within the same classroom and the same schools? And, the most important for our purposes, (3) How can the community assist school officials in securing the resources to achieve one and two?

It was concluded that the kind of massive reorganization program which the public school system must do, if it is to meet its responsibility to 20th Century America, will require the infusion of two major components: money and creative planning. In order to achieve the former, the consensus was that it will be necessary that we develop broad scale public understanding and community support for modern day education. A major deterrent, as viewed by the conferees, has been that public educators have too long refused to discuss educational programming and educational problems with the community.

Developing the kind of support necessary to establish excellence in public education calls for an immediate change in this posture, and the Conference suggested that agencies like the National Urban League must be called on to assist school officials in the current crisis in school-community relations. The necessary support for the development of a greatly enriched educational system cannot be expected to evolve spontaneously. A nucleus of intelligent, well-informed and capable leaders must immediately accept the responsibility for the clarification of the issue and to develop new plans of action. Much of the leadership must of necessity come from School Boards and School Superintendents.

Commissioner Howe stated that school officials, reinforced by enlightened community opinion, must quickly develop a third front for racial equality and general quality in education in the United States today. The professional educators have both the position and the knowledge to effect the necessary changes in the system. The delegates concluded that the time has come for innovation and experimentation in public education. A major reason for inactivity in this area has been a lack of real commitment to change rather than lack of knowledge. When commitment is achieved, it will be up to sympathetic community agencies to develop the resources necessary to implement a creative and innovative program. If necessary these agencies, with the help of private education institutions, may be called on to assist local school boards and school superintendents in the planning of such a program design. Since the factors which effect the current crisis in public education have been well documented and have had a long period of fermentation well known to us all, we will not be able to alter the character of the public school system immediately. As we work on long range plans for changes in the educational system, there are some alterations which can be made immediately. In addition to the attached specific recommendations, the Conference concluded that we should more adequately deploy the resources currently at our demand. A major area for discussion was reversing the current trend in teacher placement. The best and most experienced teachers are not presently being used where their services are most needed. School officials must work out a pattern of incentive and rewards which will place outstanding teachers in inner city schools.

A technique which could be considered by local school officials for immediate implementation is the concept of the executive teachers. This teacher placement plan would take a professional who qualifies as a master teacher and assign him or her to a classroom of students with the help necessary to free the teacher to teach and develop new learning approaches. The assistance would include sub-professional aides who will work with the family in the home, and individually with the child in school, for purposes of providing tutorial assistance and related services. In this manner we would attack the individual nature of student problems. This method would immediately focus two or three pressing problems:

1. It would keep the outstanding teacher in the inter-city, by recognition and professional recognition and status that could come with it.
2. It would attract other teachers who have professional stature, because of the relationships, and would like to work with other professionals, who have stature.
3. It would alleviate the space problem, which is not going to be resolved soon, for we could concentrate services in one classroom.

Recommendations

The Conference participants were assigned to workshop groups to digest the material presented by the educational authorities at the Conference, and outline in this report. They were requested to develop the recommendations for action which are listed here:

1. It is recommended that this Conference formally request the National Associations of School Boards, School Superintendents, Teachers and Parents to publicly adopt and persistently state it conviction that de facto segregated schools must be eliminated from American public education.

2. It is recommended that we state publicly that it is realistic and common sense to think mainly in terms of quality education and the improvement of opportunities for Negro children in the schools that are segregated in fact.

3. It is recommended that the United States Office of Education prepare a clear statement addressed to the School Boards and Administrators spelling out the value of Integrated Quality Education as a result of their recently completed study of degree of school integration in the country today.

4. It is recommended that local school administration develop comprehensive in-service training programs for teachers which will give them first hand knowledge of the students needing special service, and will dispel the prevalent attitude that Negro children have limited capacities for learning. Local school boards should immediately work out plans for assigning the most experienced and effective teachers to schools in the inner-city to improve the quality of the service rendered.

   School Boards could utilize the Head Start type teachers to work in in-service training for other teachers who have had no experience with children of poverty.

5. It is recommended that the invisible man be made more visible in our instructional material in a positive and constructive way. The development adoption by Local Boards of additional text material which is inclusive of various economic, religious, racial, political and social points of view is strongly urged.

6. It is recommended that the local Urban League serve as a liaison between the community and the School Boards to:

   a) Make technical recommendations to educators.

   b) Enable the School Administration to keep in direct contact with the Negro community.

   c) Have access to administrative records and gather needed information from the community regarding priorities and needs.

   d) Be obligated to promote Integrated Quality Education by checking on such items as teacher-pupil ratio, space needs, and curricula.

7. It is recommended that this Conference be followed up with regional and local meetings financed by the Office of Education, using the same topic: "The Role of the Community in Achieving Integrated Quality Education." These meetings which may be convened by the delegates who have met here or the regional offices of the Urban League and would be expanded to involve other community agencies, colleges and universities, and be required to achieve commitment and to develop a comprehensive plan to solve local school problems.

8. It is recommended that the National Urban League and Teachers College-Columbia University be funded to convene another National Conference next year to assess the school situation and to evaluate progress as a result of this meeting and continue our dialogue around the issues discussed. At this meeting, we suggest that the workshop assignments be made on the basis of percentage of the Negro pupils in school population of cities.

Follow Up

The value of the concept of bringing together the teams of school officials and community agencies as represented by the Urban League has been reinforced many times since the June 16-18, 1966 meeting. In Wichita, Kansas the team returned and immediately held a meeting to present the material which was discussed at the Conference and to relate it to the local school problems of integration and quality education. The Superintendent of Schools is working more closely with the Urban League executives to develop a comprehensive approach to integrated quality education in that community and to secure community understanding and support for educational problems and programs.

In Oakland, California the Board of Education set aside a meeting for the discussion of the information presented at the School Administrators Conference and a report to that Board for the purpose of developing a viable program for Oakland. This approach to the problem of integrated quality education and the insight which the school officials gained is borne out by the request which the National Urban League is receiving to assist in local and regional program development. We are presently assisting in program plans for follow-up conferences in these communities:

Columbus, Ohio
Flint, Michigan
Lancaster, Pennsylvania
Omaha, Nebraska
Peoria, Illinois
Pontiac, Michigan
Syracuse, New York

We feel secure in the knowledge of a value of this approach to the community and school problems, and have received several requests from other community agencies, local and national, for reports of the Conference and assistance in working out plans for non-Urban League communities.

APPENDIX:

Financial Report
Highlights
List of Publishers Exhibiting
List of Representatives to the School Administrators Conference
Time and Effort Report
Transcript of Conference Proceedings

Submitted by: National Urban League
55 East 52 Street
New York, N.Y. 10022
AREA CODE: 212 751 - 0300
August 25, 1966

School Administrators' Conference
Held June 16-18, 1966
Statement of Expenditures

Roosevelt Hotel	$	11,976.33
Air Travel		29,740.84
Consultants and Services		400.00
General Administrative Expenses		3,425.14
Total Expenditures	$	45,542.31

Note: Supporting material to follow.

Audley E. Coulthurst

Audley E. Coulthurst
Chief Accountant

TIME AND EFFORT REPORT
SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS CONFERENCE
July 13, 1966

Explanation

There is no compensation to the organizations for the time spent by professionals, Teachers College-Columbia University, National Urban League or Urban League affiliates in preparation for or running this Conference. Listed are the professional staff who, in fact, rendered services relevant to the School Administrators Conference:

Name and Title	Allotted Time Spent*
Toye Brown, Program Assistant, Education Department	5 days
Clarence D. Coleman, Director, Southern Regional Office	2 days
Arthur J. Edmunds, Executive Director of Pittsburgh	.2 days
Dr. John H. Fischer, President, Teachers College-Columbia Univ.	3 days
Cernoria D. Johnson, Director, Washington Bureau	5 days
Guichard Parris, Director, Public Relations	10 days
Dr. Harry A. Passow, Professor of Education, Teachers College-Columbia University	30 days
M. T. Puryear, Deputy Executive Director	3 days
Harriet Blackburn Reynolds, Assistant Director for Education	30 days
Frank L. Stanley, Jr., Associate Director for Education	60 days
Henry A. Talbert, Director, Western Regional Office	2 days
Ann Tanneyhill, Associate Director, Public Relations	7 days
Sterling Tucker, Executive Director of Washington	3 days
Hattie Woodruff, Special Assistant, Education Department	90 days

NOTE: * 7-hour work day

SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS CONFERENCE

co-sponsored by
National Urban League - Teachers College, Columbia University

June 16 - 18, 1966
Roosevelt Hotel - New York City

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Highlights of School Administrators Conference
Co-sponsored by
Teachers College-Columbia University
and
National Urban League

Why They Came

Closely related to the current crisis in public education in America today is a basic breakdown in effective communication between professional public educators and representatives of community agencies, opinions, and the civil rights movement. The schools, paralyzed in this moment of agonizing social change, need every resource that the community has at its command if they are to achieve the integrated quality educational program which is required under the law and necessary to society. In many parts of the country, we have reached an impass in communication. Polarization of position has created postures from which retreat represents defeat, rather than constructive accommodation. In many instances, communication on both sides has been one of recrimination, misunderstanding and misinterpretation.

Teachers College-Columbia University and the National Urban League, under a grant made by the United States Office of Education, perceived the need to establish a new pattern of cooperation and dialogue with school administrators for the formulation of educational policy. The time had come that emotional charge and counter-charge give way to thoughtful, reasoning cooperative effort if the educational institution is to serve the children of all the people. The school can no longer be viewed as the center of racial strife if we would have fulfill its responsibility to provide the integrated quality education America needs.

Who They Were

A team of four people from each of the 76 Urban League local affiliates throughout United States was invited, representing the Superintendent of Schools, the President of the Board of Education, the President of the Local Urban League and its executive representatives. Seventy-one cities were represented ranging in size and complexity from New York City to Libertyville, Illinois and from Boston, Massachusetts to New Orleans, Louisana. Over 372 participants were registered for this Conference.

/NOTE/: The following statements are verbatim quotes of the key points presented by the Guest Speakers during the Conference General Sessions.

What They Heard

Dr. John H. Fischer
President
Teachers College,
Columbia University
New York City, N.Y.

"We are facing up squarely to the fundamental proposition that to limit a man's education is to limit his freedom. This is what the problem of school desegregation in its broadest meaning is all about.

"What is required, therefore, is much more than the mere proclamation of a new policy of equality. To be sure, the educational opportunities of Negro Americans must be equalized with those of their white neighbors, but equalization must be accompanied by prompt and vigorous action to improve the Negroes' access to those opportunities and, further, to increase the inducements most Negro Americans have now to use the opportunities that are available until in all three respects the American of Negro ancestry can enjoy full parity with his white neighbor....

"In approaching the educational task, it may be well to consider some of the salient facts. One of these is that a school which enrolls largely Negro students is almost universally considered to be of lower status and less desirable than a school attended wholly or mainly by white students.... Whether such appraisals are wholly valid remains, at least for the present, beside the point.

"A second fact, closely related to the first, is that the -- is the unfortunate psychological effect upon the individual child, who belongs to a school where every pupil knows that regardless of his personal attainments the group with which he is identified is viewed as less able, less successful and less acceptable than the majority of the community.

"No solution is likely to be effective unless it is based on a realistic appraisal of the forces and the factors involved. Yet however complicated the situation or its final solution may be, the clearly essential first step is a firm and forthright confrontation of the problem.

"The main objective is, rather, to alter the character and quality of the opportunities all children can enjoy, to provide them equally with incentives to succeed, and to foster a sense of inter-group acceptance in ways that are impossible when schools or students are racially and culturally or socially isolated.

"The problem of definition and the establishment of formulae can not be wholly avoided but these are less-important matters than creating and retaining students bodies that will be considered acceptably integrated by the largest number of persons possible in both races. Universal approval of any such scheme represents unattainable perfection, but no plan for integration can be sustained unless it is supported by substantial elements of both the majority and the minority.

"The plain fact is that there can be no integration without pupils of different races in the same school Any plan, therefore, which increases the movement of white pupils out of the public schools will defeat the very purpose it is intended to serve.

"What is required is neither insistence on nor resistance to any particular method but, rather, a common and resolute willingness to search for answers, to search for an end to the destructive devisiveness that still plagues our communities.

"There are no hard barriers to the attainment of school integration but rather a vast and dense fog that delays and frustrates effective action.... This cloud of uncertainty, insecurity, fear and plain inertia will be dispelled only where the necessary leadership is forthcoming.

"This is not to say that one or a few firm-minded individuals can work a miracle. It is, rather, to argue that the broad-scale public understanding and support which are needed can not be expected to develop spontaneously but they can not develop until a nucleus of intelligent, well-informed and capable leaders accepts in every community the responsibility to clarify the issues, to illuminate the possibilities and to propose forthright action. Much of that leadership, for both legal and psychological reasons, must be furnished by school boards and superintendents.

"... The creation of a public school system that will assure every pupil equal access to excellent instruction is not the business solely of the school authorities. It must be approached rather as a task of comprehensive community planning, if you will, as a community strategy, in which many public and private agencies will be involved. It must begin with an imaginative and bold appraisal of what a first-rate system of public schools, well-staffed, well-supported, well-integrated, can play in the social, economic and cultural advancements of the community.

"A second step will be to project the parts that agencies other than schools can play in the total efforts, to identify their respective roles and to determine how their work and that of the schools can best be interrelated.

"A third step is to estimate the resources required, in manpower, facilities and money, to adapt the magnitude of the effort to the resources available, and to schedule the timing of developments to the predictable flow of those resources, maintaining at every phase a balanced plan of operation.

"A fourth and possibly the most important part of such an approach must be the willingness of all concerned to make and to meet the necessary commitments of policy, resources and action.

"What I am proposing would mean, for many organizations, a new relationship to the public school, and it would require on the part of some school systems a quite-different posture toward the community. It would entail a sharp departure from the tradition of autonomy that has characterized much of school administration since the turn of the century."

Dr. Kenneth B. Clark
Professor of Psychology,
City College;
Director, Social Dynamics
Research Institute of the
City University

"... What are the symptoms that the schools are not, or that public education is not fulfilling its responsibility to the society? I think the first symptom is when the schools or educators or those responsible for this crucial social process are passive, or view themselves and their roles as merely reflectors of the existing social order, or being required to be compatible with or consistent with what is.

"When educators or educational administrators and other educational personnel are defensive, apologetic and submit themselves to those who consider themselves guardians of the past, or special pleaders for specific power segments of the society, when we see educators being subordinate to interests of the larger society, then I think we have a pretty good clue that such educators and educational institutions under their control are not involved in the challenging and dynamic process of daring to help build a new social order.

"... Educational institutions and educators, public education, private education, education on the elementary, secondary, collegiate and even the university levels, have not taken the initiative in bringing about the kind of social change which Civil Rights groups, of course, and more recently even our legislators have been precipitating.

"...A third symptom that the educational institutions and educators are not playing a dynamic, constructive and creative role in an affirmative answer to Count's question is when we see educators and educational institutions content to rely upon gimmicks such as open enrollment, or free choice approaches to the solution of the complex and difficult problems of freeing our schools from racial constrictions and racial dominations.

"Well, what are some positive sides? ... The first sign, I think, is when we find the school system or an educational institution and the individuals responsible for policy and procedure asserting - asserting at times and with the necessary effectiveness - that it is in fact the primary goal and primary responsibility of education to free human beings from ignorance, superstition, social provincialism, racism. I think the time has come when a group such as this, under the leadership of individuals like John Fischer, the prestige of Columbia University, the Urban League, can change the whole quality and aura of the racial dialogue in American education from a defensive, apologetic posture on the part of educators, to an assertive, positive, affirmative posture, namely, that it is the responsibility of effective education to free the American people from the shackles and constrictions of racism.

"...Schools have the responsibility of helping to free the people of our nation from the constrictions of the past, the racial constrictions and other forms of social superstition and ignorance. It is the role of public education and private education to be in the vanguard of helping to cure us from racism, and that it is impossible for education to fulfill this role as long as it, itself, is constricted by racism, as long as America demands or permits American education to be defined in racial terms, as long as we, with the best of intentions, continue to talk about Negro schools, and white schools, or the proper proportion of Negroes that will make a school not segregated - as long as we continue to see race as an integral part of the educational process and educational institutions, it is difficult if not impossible for schools to free America from racism when the schools, themselves, are the symbols of racism.

"How, then, do we do this?... We dare to think the unthinkable thing ... dare to talk about the massive forms of educational reorganization which must be engaged in if the schools are to be free to perform their function of freeing the society from the cancerous disease of racism."

Dr. Martin Essex
Superintendent
Akron City Schools
Akron, Ohio

"We have the very real challenge, and this Conference certainly is not unaware of this, in saving America and saving the American city because this issue with which we are dealing today is central to it.

"... This is the central issue as I see it, as a practitioner in the field, we must find a way to change the rate of learning.

"Now, we - I'm talking about not a racial matter but I'm talking about the unilateral concentration of population in our central cities and the continued, burdgeoning numbers of persons who concentrate in the bowels of our big cities, who have not succeeded in the schools. Here is the issue, as I see it, we must find a way, and no where in the world have we succeeded in this yet.

"This is the central issue, can we design a plan of education which will do this because, without it, this person can't feel wanted, he rather feels alienated, he can not compare economically in a system that demands skills and knowledge.

"Thus, this one is central in my thinking as I see the employability factor, the respect factor. So if I were to leave any thought with you, it would be in that context today, and I think whereas the - now, the Office of Economic Opportunity, locally designed, compensatory and additional efforts, the Elementary and Secondary School Act, all of these need direction, particularly the

Federal programs need direction, and you as Presidents of Boards of Education, as Urban League leaders, as a select group of the citizenry, the concerned citizenry of America ... must come to grips with this.

"I would like to just throw out one idea, Professor Clark and President Fischer didn't propose to express specifics today and I think wisely, but may I just toss out one for you to shoot down and I'm certain you will, I don't see anyone who looks hesitant here this morning, but I am inclined to believe after our experimentation with team teaching and other devices that perhaps there is an area which might have a potential if we were to test it in this country, and that's the concept of the executive teacher.

"The executive teacher can be a master teacher but with - not with the team concept of taking 100 youngsters for three or four teachers, but taking a classroom of youngsters and having the kind of aides that would work in the home, work individually with the school, and recognize the individual child.

"... We must get this to its individual character. This is the only way it's going to go up. Inspiring and motivating. And I think with the executive teacher we solve three or four problems. One, we keep the outstanding teacher in the inter-city, by the recognition and professional recognition that could come with it.

"Secondly, we would attract other teachers to say, who have professional stature, because of the relationships, we like to work with other professionals, who have stature.

"Thirdly, we have a space problem, which is not going to be resolved soon, and we could concentrate in one classroom.

"... I must say that we dare not relax in this matter, we dare not spend our time in criticism.

"...We must have a system of education which permits earning power and self-respect commensurate with full social acceptance, and this Conference can be a great boon in getting on the way with that central responsibility."

Roy Wilkins
Executive Director
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
New York, N.Y.

"I've been asked to say a word here on community activities and responsibilities and having said that that is the topic, I will now proceed to discuss what I intended to discuss.... The overall duty of the Negro community at present is to call attention in every possible way, in conferences such as these and in other ways, to the present crippling condition of the Negro child in, first, the continuing segregation in the public schools of the South, and, second, in the largely unmoving de facto segregation in public schools outside of the South. We look back now from 1966, back for twelve years, and we can understand the present scepticism as to what is going to take place in the future by looking back to see how we were deceived in the past.

"...So at the end of ten years we look back and we saw where we had been deceived. We'd been lulled to sleep. We had been told that if you're responsible, if you ease up on the pressure, if you do this, if you do that, we're going to play fair and we're going to catch up. They didn't play fair and they didn't catch up. And in 1964, the Negro looked around and there he was. And more importantly, there his children were.

"...When it comes to the matters of reading and writing and arithmetic and mathematics and science and history and geography and the humanities, they're behind.

"First, in order to show that we're not merely clamoring for somebody else to do something, I think the community groups in the Negro community again and again must remind themselves of their own obligation to keep their children in school, to fight for better and better housing and recreation and for more stable family life and for adherence to values. I think the Negro community has got to do some work within itself, to correct some of its obvious weaknesses. Now, these weaknesses are, of course, the result of lack of opportunity, lack of adequate employment, revenue and income....This problem is not one wholly on the school board. Part of it is on the Negro community. But thereafter the Negro community must insist, for example, on a wider use of the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Educational Act.

"The Negro community, second and third, must insist on some method to provide better teachers - not inexperienced ones for ghetto schools. The opposition of the teachers to this plan must be overcome. Teachers don't like it.... She doesn't want to have to teach hard, use her ingenuity. She wants to teach easy according to the formula and the methods easily understood. The Negro community is going to have to insist on the incorporation of modern methods in the ghetto schools, teaching teams and all other things.

"Now the Negro is one long disaster area, in education and every other way. The Negro is not on trial. The public education system is on trial. The United States of America is on trial....And it just could be that if we don't undergird our system with a strong educational system that's open to every person, that converts every American into an American, then the American system just might not survive.

"You have to think of it, especially you, more than politicians and more than the businessmen, you, the educators, have to think of it in terms of saving the system because you are the key and the cornerstone of the system. Nobody else is. And if the education system doesn't function, the whole structure comes tumbling down."

Whitney M. Young, Jr.
Executive Director
National Urban League
New York, N. Y.

"I would like to restate what we consider as the purposes, the goal ought to be more romantic, the dream that the Urban League, our staff and Board and Teachers College had in the calling of this Conference. We regard this as has already been said but repetition is a legitimate form of education - we regard this as a beginning, not as an end. It is the beginning of a dialogue, the beginning of a partnership, it is the beginning of communication between the Urban League and in a larger sense the Civil Rights movement and the people in our country who are primarily responsible for that important function, education.

"We need education of people who live in suburbia to the fact that their neighborhoods are but tiny enclaves filled with sameness and sterile blandness and that that neighborhood is not likely to produce the child that is equipped for a multi-racial society and a multi-racial world. And they need education to the point that they will acquire enough security and sophistication and just plain common sense that they need change this kind of gilded ghetto situation in order to prepare their kids for the kind of world they're going to have to live in.

"Now, if we make the assumption that quality education is a goal we must shoot toward and that integrated education must come at some kind of planned, progressive - in some kind of planned, progressive manner, then we must force ourselves to the fourth conclusion and that is that it will not just happen, that the ticking of a clock never brought about a single social reform. People change things. We didn't get into this segregated mess that we are now in, residential segregation, the white noose around our central cities, by just sitting by and letting it happen. It was planned. It was consciously and deliberately planned in the sense that Negro citizens were not permitted to move into certain neighborhoods.

"...And so we've got to commit ourselves to the same kind of creativity and genius and skill that went into making the schools exclusive. We've got to now use that same genius in making them inclusive.

"I suppose the one word would be the word you would sound off if we asked what was needed, the word "more." You would immediately begin to say that that's the answer to your problem, more money, more good teachers and more good physical facilities and more integrated neighborhoods and more cooperation from parents and civic officials....I submit to you today that we do not run into a single area of resistance that education is not blamed for it....They are now blaming you - if I were you I would not get defensive - I would say, O.K. - if education is going to be blame, then we got to have the resources to do the job.

"The first thing we can do yesterday is more realistic allocation of the resources we already have. There are still too many excellent teachers who are teaching in those neighborhoods and those schools where the children have the most going for them and where the parents either know more or think they know more than the teachers themselves and who in fact are probably as good if not better teachers than some in those schools. And take those excellent teachers and put them where they are needed most. If medicine did what education does, it would send out interns to do complicated heart surgery and they would send their competent surgeons out to treat some middle-class person for a common cold. This is in fact what education has done too long. We can take what resources we have and we can put them where they are needed most. This, to me, is just ordinary business efficiency, it is ordinary, it seems to me, common sense.

"I think we can do something about this business of massive programming, concentration of effort. '"I prefer the ignorance of enthusiasm to the indifference of wisdom."' We can do something about attitudes. There's just no question in my mind that attitudes happen to be the critical thing, that the attitude that this Negro child is not educable, the attitude of low expectation on the part of the teacher as far as that child is concerned, which very quickly is recognized by the child himself.

"So the answer really isn't to keep the school white to assure some kind of uniform standards or something, the answer is how do you individualize the child, how do you teach people with varying educational and cultural and environmental backgrounds within that same classroom. And here again calls for this kind of individualizing. It calls for saying to a child, "I care about you." It calls for cutting through that defense that a slum child has had to develop to survive, that so many teachers call hostility and meanness

"I talked about a partnership I hoped would come out of this Conference. First, we ought to have the facts and we ought to make these available as to what is the actual situation as far as the gap between Negro education, white education, what about the training of the teachers, what's the difference in the crowding of the classroom and the preparation of the teachers. What about the physical facilities? What about the equipment that's used? What about textbooks? We ought to let school people know.

"...If the school boards around this country say that the time has come when a Negro child and a white child need to know that Negroes have participated in the building of the country, that they have died in the American Revolution and in every war, that they have helped to make the country what it is today and they ought to be seen. Both white and Negro kids need to know this and it ought to be in the textbooks.

"Then those textbooks will be forthcoming and this is what you've got to ask for and the Urban League ought to help you - help select those books, help to find those books for you.

"I would hope that Urban Leaguers would do something about what happens to a child after school....I think the Urban League has the responsibility to do something and start some programs for the kid after he leaves that classroom. I think we have a job to do and we're trying to do it, as money permits, in parent education because all the school does is apt to be counteracted by a parent who doesn't understand what's happening and doesn't provide the necessary support. And so we need an ongoing parent education program.

"I think finally that it has the responsibility to help the school situation, the school officials to get the resources. This means developing some kind of sophistication about how the system works. This means supporting bond issues. It means electing officials who have a commitment to education and voting out officials who do not have a commitment to education.

"Well, let me say in conclusion - well, Roy said it, it's not just the Negro at stake, it's the country, it's everybody else. But education happens to be the key. But what we need to make education live up to its great potential."

Hon. Harold Howe, II
U.S. Commissioner of
Education
Department of Health,
Education, and Welfare
Washington, D.C.

"I started to wonder whether civil rights was any place for a gentlemanly discussion....I have the feeling that those of us who think of ourselves as gentlemen should either stop pretending that we care about racial equality, or we should step down from our air-conditioned podiums and start something definite in the way of a program. Considering the authority that we gentlemanly education officials have at our command to correct racial injustice in our schools, I feel that we have accomplished very little so far.

"While we have gone on urging moderation, sweet reason, and bigger and better panel discussions, the schools throughout the Nation remain almost as segregated today as they were in 1954.... The small progress that the South has made toward desegregation has been offset by increasing de facto segregation in the cities of the North.... The facts today are that a Negro youngster in an American elementary school has on the national average not much more than 15 percent of his classmates from the majority white groups; ... The figure is nearer to 5 percent; white high school students can expect to have nine out of ten of their classmates from their own white group.

"The majority of American whites display no likelihood of becoming enthusiastic about school desegregation and the changes it demands in the immediate future....Gradualism -- no matter what we call it -- has failed, and I think it is fair to say that those who continue to espouse it are fooling themselves and in many ways, failing our Nation.

"It seems to me time for school officials to form a third front for racial equality in the United States.

"Activists ...have neither the position in society nor the professional's knowledge of the means and importance of advancing racial equality within the framework of law.

"School officials have both position and knowledge. Those of us professionally engaged in education are charged with setting educational policy within our respective jurisdictions, and we are familiar with a variety of methods that can be used to advance school desegregation. What we have often lacked is a productive commitment.

"...Achieving desegregation does not require fury or breast-beating; it does require something much more important: the recognition that school desegregation must be accomplished, and the determination to do it.

"...School officials occupy a curious position somewhere between that of the educational leader and the political leader.... Many administrators, a necessary sensitivity to public opinion has tended so to dilute their sense of responsibility for educational leadership that they have exercised it only after the public parade has already decided which way it wants to go.

"...School desegregation is the single point on which we who call ourselves educational leaders prove that we really are so...or demonstrate that we are merely trying to keep things quiet until we receive our gold watches for a lifetime devoted to the status quo.

"...A revolution is brewing under our feet, and it is largely up to the schools to determine whether the energies of that revolution can be converted into a new and vigorous source of American progress, or whether their explosion will rip this Nation into two societies. We simply cannot wait until dramatic action becomes safe, for at this point it is much less dangerous to make a mistake than to do nothing.

"In addition, there are a number of Federally-sponsored programs that offer significant help. Under Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, for example, the U.S. Office of Education provides financial assistance to school personnel and authorities to deal with the special problems resulting from desegregation.

"Grants are given to school boards for training teachers and other school personnel, and for the employment of specialists. Training institutes are supported to improve the ability of teachers, supervisors, counselors and other school personnel to handle desegregation problems.

"Since the beginning of the Title IV program in January of 1965, applications have been received for funds totaling more than $35,000,000 against available funds amounting to $12,275,000. The Office of Education has been able to support 59 grants amounting to $4,900,000. We have supported 115 institutes in the amount of $6,500,000. More than 7,500 teachers, supervisors, counselors, and principals have benefited from the institute training alone.

"Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 also authorizes Federal aid to school districts to help them plan and carry out new ideas for school desegregation. President Johnson added a special $5 million fund for this purpose in his message on education this year.

"Title I of that same Act has the overall effect of easing the harmful educational results of school segregation, because its entire $959 million is aimed at benefiting those children who have suffered most because of the poverty that usually accompanies racial inequities. These are the estimated 5½ million children from families whose annual income is less than $2,000 a year. Here too, after-school and summer school projects are providing the opportunity to integrate staff and students in ways that aren't possible in the regular school program.

"Each of these Acts, together with the 70-odd other programs administered by the U.S. Office of Education, has been given a special thrust by the Civil Rights Act of 1965. Title VI of that Act, as you know, prohibits Federal aid to any program of activity that discriminates among its recipients on the basis of race, color, or national origin.

"Thus the Civil Rights Act makes every Federal program, whether it be for education, urban development, or water pollution control, a powerful financial tool in the drive against racial inequity. The rationale behind this Act is simple: no desegregation, no Federal money.

"To say this is by no means to say that the Office of Education is caving in on _de facto_ segregation -- on segregation Northern-style. It _is_ to say that the issues are complicated and subtle, that establishing a clear-cut legal basis on which to take action -- and be confident of withstanding any challenge -- has required far more investigation and study than we would have preferred. We are not satisfied with our pace. But that dissatisfaction adds up not to retreat but to determination to redouble our enforcement efforts where they are pertinent.

"And that is the point -- to do something.

"But let us agree on this: that in terms of magnitude of the task, none of these approaches-- not the special arrangements made by the schools nor the programs sponsored by the Federal Government-- is a perfect instrument for doing the job they are supposed to complete. Yet that is precisely why educators who know both the uses and the limitations of these ideas must act on them, for we must supply in courage and in action what our plans lack in ingenuity. There is no such thing as the perfect way to achieve school desegregation. There is no magic key "that will unlock all the doors that private prejudice and public pressure have placed in the way of equal opportunity in education. We must simply bore ahead with tools we have, and it won't be pleasant, and it won't be quiet, and it would be much nicer if someone else would share the work.

"But the job is there to do, and if any of us entered education with the idea that it would be a soft touch, this is as good a time as any to concede that we made a big mistake. There is lots of conversation about local control of the schools; if we really believe in it--and I assure you that I am in that number--we must make it work. We must guide the schools to a continuing freedom while at the same time responding appropriately to calls for national action. Local school districts must not sit on their hands and then bellow about having the reins of educational policy yanked from their fingers.

"We are in the midst of a struggle for excellent education for every American youngster, and we must use every likely tool we can devise.

"And all this means that, finally and most grievously, we must run the risk of being invited to resign. Unless all of us are willing to put our jobs and our integrity on the line, we should admit that American educators are no longer prepared to be the prime movers in American education.

"American education today is perhaps the hottest room in our national house. But we picked it out all by ourselves. To paraphrase a metaphor first wrought by President Truman, I would say that we must either adjust ourselves to the heat or let somebody else take over the kitchen."

What They Recommended

The delegates were assigned to small work groups whose purpose was to analyze the material presented; the problem as they saw it; and to develop a series of concrete recommendations for action. These recommendations were not voted upon, but each item represents the best thinking of the participants in the workshop meetings. They are shared here as a suggested plan of action both for local regional and national implementation.

1. It is recommended that the National Urban League and Teachers College-Columbia University convene another national conference next year to evaluate our progress as a result of this meeting and continue our dialogue around the issues discussed. At this meeting, we suggest that the workshop assignments be made on the basis of percentage of the Negro pupils in school population rather than total population of cities.

2. It is recommended that this Conference be followed up with regional and local meetings using the same topic: "The Role of the Community in Achieving Integrated Quality Education." These meetings which may be convened by the delegates who have met here, would be expanded to involve other community agencies, colleges and universities, and be required to develop a comprehensive plan to solve their local problems.

3. It is recommended that the local Urban League serve as a liaison between the community and the School Boards to:

   a) Make technical recommendations to educators.

   b) Enable the School Administration to keep in direct contact with the Negro community.

   c) Have access to administrative records and gather needed information from the community regarding priorities and needs.

d) Be obligated to promote Integrated Quality Education by checking on such items as teacher-pupil ratio, space needs, and curricula.

4. It is recommended that local school administration develop comprehensive in-service training programs for teachers which will give them first hand knowledge of the students needing special service, and will dispel the prevelant attitude that Negro children have limited capacities for learning. Local school boards should immediately work out plans for assigning the most experienced and effective teachers to schools in the inner-city to improve the quality of the service received.

   School Boards could utilize the Head Start type teachers to work in in-service training for other teachers who have had no experience with the children of poverty.

5. It is recommended that the U.S. Office of Education prepare a clear statement addressed to School Boards and Administrators spelling out the value of Integrated Quality Education as a result of their recently completed study of degree of school integration in the country today.

6. It is recommended that we state publicly that it is realistic and common sense to think mainly in terms of quality education and the improvement of opportunities for Negro children in the schools that are segregated in fact.

7. It is recommended that this Conference formally request the National Associations of School Boards, School Superintendents, Teachers and Parents to publicly adopt and persistently state its conviction that de facto segregated schools must be eliminated from American public education.

8. It is recommended that the invisible man be made more visible in our instructional material in a positive and constructive way. The development adoption by Local Boards of additional text material which is inclusive of various economic, religious, racial, political and social points of view is strongly urged.

In Summary

Dr. Harry A. Passow
Professor of Education
Chairman, Committee on
Urban Education
Teachers College,
Columbia University
New York, N.Y.

"It seems to me that what we have done is to open channels and open up avenues here for discussions, for examination and for action and for planning. There is a world of difference between desegregation and integration and my own bias is that we have focused on desegregation...without taking into account the meaning and the dimension of integration, which is a far more complex - problem as such.... When we talk about desegregation, we are talking about the range, if you will, or the balance between the various groups in a community school system or in some area. This... is quite different from the complex problem of providing a kind of educational system that does indeed open up opportunities for all youngsters. John Fisher said, "The main objective is to alter the character and quality of the opportunities all children can enjoy. To provide them equally with incentives to succeed and to foster a sense of intergroup acceptance in ways that are impossible when schools or students are racially, culturally, and socially isolated." Now, I submit that these kinds of opening up of opportunities, this enhancement of quality of education does not come about simply by the altering of the particular racial mix in a particular school. I happen to fully agree with Dr. Alexander that the focus of the Conference should be on quality education. It takes on different dimensions and different aspects in different communities.

"...The problem of integrated education and quality education in Darien, Connecticut is quite different from that one finds in New York City or Chicago or New Orleans, and I am saying that our plans here ought to be involving an analysis and an understanding of what this difference is because it seems to me that actions and steps can be taken on desegregation without really "affecting very much the consequences of that desegregation in terms of integrated educative experiences.

"...Desegregation has improved the quality of education only when positive steps have been taken, direct steps have been taken to understand the nature of the quality in that situation and have involved the instructional staff, the administrative staff, the content of instruction, the materials used, the kinds of education experiences....Now, what I am trying to argue for here is that we in a planning position, if we simply gloss over and believe that if we take some steps toward desegregation which I do believe can be taken quite readily and quite quickly, if we gloss over the fact that the main job then becomes and is one of examining the dimensions and taking steps for improving the quality of education for the youngsters in our schools, that in the long run we will alter racial mix but will not affect very directly positively or negatively the quality of education in our schools.

"We ought not judge the consequences of our activities and measure of quality is not simply how many kids we got into a particular college or university as important as this is, but there are other dimensions in terms of self-image, aspirations, motivations, drive to achieve, values, attitudes, that this school system of ours now must look back to about a generation or two generations ago.

"...We set our sites far too low today and we need to take a look at what is possible and essential in terms of a total educational program if we are really going to deal with quality education.

"Now, it is along these lines that we need to go back to our Urban League boards, we need to go back to our community groups and ask how effectively we can work together, we can work together in terms of moving toward a clear definition of what the goals and the objectives, what the ends we seek and what it takes.

"The time has come, it seems to me for us to plan together and to find what the role each of us has in terms of achieving this ultimate, appropriate,... and adequate ....We simply need to plan together to find out how we can play the appropriate roles for reaching this end as such, and it will be quite different in each of our communities."

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7/66
National Urban League

SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS CONFERENCE

Co-Sponsored By

Teachers College, Columbia University
National Urban League

June 17 - 18, 1966

Hotel Roosevelt - New York City

Mr. Henry Steeger - Opening General Session

Ladies and gentlemen, will the meeting kindly come to order.

As you know, this meeting is jointly sponsored by the National Urban League and Columbia University. The keynote, very briefly, is not only the pursuit of integrated education but quality education. To bring you greetings is the President and Trustee of the National Urban League, Dr. Lindsley F. Kimball. Mr. Kimball is an associate of the Rockefeller brothers and of the Rockefeller Fund, a Trustee of the Rockefeller University. Is that correct, Dr. Kimball? And for many years, he has been a Director of the United Negro College Fund.

The United Negro College Fund makes possible higher education for thousands of students who attend the some thirty-three Negro colleges in the country. For many years, Dr. Kimball was also Vice President and Director of the General Education Board and Treasurer of the Rockefeller Institute. He has, in fact, so many other honors which I would like to mention but time forbids. Just as a P.S. to the introduction, I would like to say that he is practically single-handedly responsible for our beautiful new building on 52nd Street. Dr. Kimball. (Applause)

DR. KIMBALL: It took me quite a while to build that building. I only had one helper and the building has something like 50,000 square feet.

I found in the minutes of a school board in a city in Ohio which I will not identify these words. The town had asked for the use of the school to hold a debate. The year happens to be 1828. "You are welcome to use the schoolroom to debate all proper questions but such things as railroads and telegraphs are impossibilities and rank infidelity. There is nothing in the word of God about them. If God had designed that his intelligent creatures should travel at the frightful speed of 15 miles an hour by steam, He would have foretold it through His holy prophets."
If the superintendent of that school board is in the room, I hope he will rise and be identified.

I have another cute little story for you that I like very much. It illustrates many things. I'll read first a letter which was received by the treasurer of the New York Hospital not too long ago. "During the summer, my brother and I held a carnival at our house. It only lasted for an hour and we didn't earn much but I think it might be useful in buying bandages or anything the hospital may need. I hope it is put to a good use and I want to tell you it was a pleasure earning this money. Truly yours, Burkie Flynn and Charlie Flynn." There was included a money order for $4.32. This letter found its way into the hands of a mutal friend of ours, Ralph Hayes, who runs the New York Community Trust and he sat down and wrote this letter to Burkie Flynn:

"Dear Burkie, Mr. Payson, the Treasurer, has shown me your letter and we both think you and Charlie and your friends did a fine, helpful thing in having that carnival and sending the gate receipts to

New York Hospital. With one part of your letter I do not agree. I mean where you say you did not earn much. That $4.32 is a lot more than the best tins and cracked marbles that I was able to earn. But what I am writing about is this. I work for some people here in New York Community Trust who have a number of charitable funds to manage and after seeing your letter, they told me to send to Mr. Payson at the hospital through you and Charlie a dollar for each penny you fellows collected. That is why I enclose a check payable to the New York Hospital for $432 and I would like you to see that it gets there since it was really earned by you and your audience that shelled out the $4.32."

The next letter is from Mr. Burkie to Mr. Hayes.

"Received your letter and receiving it was so thrilling. I really appreciate it. So does the New York Hospital. When I first started thinking about having a carnival, I never thought it would amount to very much but, boy, did I have a surprise. For some reason, you've gotten the idea I'm a boy. Well, I'm not. My real name is Mary Burke Flynn, Burkie for short."

To which Ralph Hayes pinned a little note when he slipped me the correspondence. And his note said, "Jeepers, how was I to know that Burkie was a dame?"

Now I admit that I don't know what education is but I think that's it. I think its far more important to educate for living than for making a living. I will never forget an experience I had some years back sitting on the top of a mountain back in the blue Mediterranean and being entertained as the guest of a Arabian sheik. We sat there while he brought each Arabian horse to be introduced to me personally and individually. We sat through the rising of the full moon and we spent most of the night talking about religion, his and mine. And when I left him, I asked him a question. You know the Rockefeller Foundation never used to send out Christmas cards abroad. They were so afraid of offending somebody. And I said to him, "My friend, you know I'm a Christian. Would you resent it if I sent you a Christmas card?" He said, "I would prize it all the days of my life because of what it means to you." This, I think, is education. However, I am here only to say welcome and to bring you greetings and all of the erudition and experience and wisdom will be forthcoming in subsequent sessions. I do want to say just two things of one sentence each. One is that you will find the National Urban League not a group of starry-eyed dreamers. We know we're not going to achieve the millenium tomorrow. We're on the way. But we want to work with you. We're not here to demand anything. We're here to find the best answers to a puzzle that is bothering all of us and would take seventeen Solomons to solve. However, I hope that as a single frame of reference, we may remember this, that a truth not acted upon soon loses all meaning. You are very welcome and you are now greeted. Thank you. (Applause)

Thank you, Dr. Kimball. Our next speaker is Mr. Lloyd K. Garrison, Honorary Trustee of the National Urban League, who has been associated with the Urban League for more than a quarter of a century and has been President of the Board of Trustees. In addition to his law practice, as an educator, Mr. Garrison was Dean of the University of Wisconsin Law School. He brings you greetings from the New York City Board of Education of which he is currently President. Mr. Garrison. (Applause)

MR. GARRISON: Mr. Steeger, my friends on the dais, ladies and gentlemen. Welcome to New York City.

As I came in this morning, I bumped into my friend, Dr. Kenneth Clark, and adverting to the difficulties faced by our school system, he observed that New York is certainly the "firstest" with the problems. And I added, the "firstest" and the "mostest." But I suppose this really isn't true because actually all of us, North and South, in the cities of this country, face really the same problems in essence and we're all in the same boat together, all struggling along together to find the right way. I'm so happy that the Urban League has taken the initiative of bringing together the presidents and superintendents and Urban League executives from the 76 cities in this country in which the Urban Leagues are organized. This is a unique gathering, the first of its kind, and I hope that this marks the start of a collaboration which has been long needed and which I'm sure will endure and be fruitful. The tasks before us on the educational front have two interrelated goals. The first is to eliminate segregation from the schools, using that term in its broadest sense, as including the walls of prejudice and myth which separate parents from child and child from child. The second goal which cannot be wholly achieved without the first is to bring to full fruition the inherent learning capacity and rich human potentials of every child from the humblest to the most fortunate. These interrelated goals cannot be wholly achieved by action of the schools alone. The elimination of segregation, for example, calls not only for changes in laws and their enforcement but also as in the North as we so well know, for changes in housing patterns and in the locations of schools, of industry, and of community facilities according to overall plans designed to bring about a balanced, productive and integrated society. Of all the challenges confronting democracy, this one of building large scale, comprehensive and imaginative plans for the total integration of society is perhaps the greatest challenge and it will not be fully met in the absence of coordinated effort by the Federal, State and municipal governments, including the various agencies that impinge on the schools.

The schools themselves, of course, can and must do more than they are doing. But they can't do the whole job. And I hope that in our deliberations at this Conference, we will not view the schools in isolation but will consider them in relation to the wider framework of social and economic changes that have to be made city by city. While we are waiting for these wider developments, the schools are moving too slowly but they are moving. And the community pressures for change that beat upon the schools leave us no rest. Here, as throughout our history, the claims of minority groups to full equality have kept alive the American conscience and have pointed the way to what must be done if we would be true to ourselves and true to the American ideal that brought this country into being. This insistent heartbeat of our better selves makes itself felt in education as in the other undertakings of life and without it we would wither. One characteristic of the particular public which concerns itself with the schools may be noted in conclusion. This is that everyone from the least to the most highly educated regards himself as an expert on education. I know of nothing comparable to this in any other profession or walk of life. Everyone knows precisely what ought to be done with the schools, he's cocksure of it, and he wastes no time in shouting his views from the housetops. So the schools are kept under a constant surveillance and a constant barrage of criticisms and proposals, all of which I suppose is healthy though at times I must say it is rather wearing.

And this puts me in mind of a story which has an educational moral. You may have read a few weeks ago, it came out in the New York Times and, no doubt, elsewhere, about an experiment which scientists have made with the learning capacity of flatworms and the inheritance of this capacity. They found that if you took a flatworm and it started to move along and came to an electric shock, it learned after a while that if it turned to the right and not to the left, just before the gong went off that was followed by the electric shock, it wouldn't get the electric shock. So it learned when the gong rang to turn to the right. Extraordinary thing but even flatworms can learn. So the flatworm learned it. Then they chopped up that flatworm in minute bits and they had a theory, this is why they chopped it up. They had a theory that in the RNA factor of the molecules of the cells of living beings, including flatworms, resides the seat of all memory. This is the memory gathering particle that pervades the bodies of living animals. To test this, they chopped up that flatworm in minute bits and fed him to another flatworm that hadn't learned about the turn to the right. And they tested that unlearned flatworm to find out how long it would take that flatworm to learn to turn to the right and lo and behold, he learned vastly more quickly than the other flatworms that hadn't eaten the one that had been chopped up. So they deduced that the memory factor in the chopped up tapeworm got into the system of the living tapeworm and that living tapeworm was thereby - his whole intellectual apparatus was augmented, you see. Well, the educational moral that somebody deduced from this was that the biggest advance in education that we could make would be to feed the teachers to the students!

But I suppose that we won't be likely to try that out so long as we have this terrible shortage of teachers that now afflicts us. If and when we get a surplus, it might be that's a good idea to take a shot at. Well, this adventurous spirit is one which must, of course, characterize all our efforts. I look forward very much to today's sessions with you. I think we are all going to learn from each other. I know that I am going to learn a great deal from the round table discussions and the talks that we may have with one another throughout this auspicious conference. I'm very glad to be here and I hope that this is the start of many such gatherings in the future. Thank you. (Applause)

Thank you, Dr. Garrison.

About two-thirds of the Staff and Board of the National Urban League have a Ph.D. or similar academic honor and I'm certain that with respect to the Columbia University people here that even this figure is exceeded, so if you can't read the little card on your neighbor's suit, you have a 66 percent chance of being safe if you say, "Hi, Doc."

Our next speaker, to bring us a statement of purpose for the Conference is Mr. Frank L. Stanley, Jr., who is Education Director of the National Urban League. Prior to this appointment, during the summer of 1965, he designed and directed Harlem's anti-poverty program of work training, recreation and study for 15,000 youths called Project Uplift. Under his direction, some 97 community agencies were administering a variety of programs ranging from day camps to the construction of vest pocket parks. Mr. Stanley is presently a member of the Joint Council on Economic Education, Advisory Committee to the New York State Education Department and Sub-committee on Human Rights of the N.E.A. We expected some 200 of you here. There are approximately, by latest count, about 350. I hope this will be a precedent for the success of Mr. Stanley's work as Director of the Education Program. Mr. Stanley. (Applause)

MR. STANLEY: Thank you very much Chairman Steeger, President Kimball, other distinguished platform guests, school board presidents, school board superintendents, Urban League officials, and other delegates.

St. Augustine once said that as a result of his education, he could read anything that was written, understand anything he heard said and say anything he thought. That was a long time ago. Since then the growth of knowledge has brought with it ever increasing specialization and proliferation. In the last 30 years, this growth has accelerated into a chain reaction in the sciences, much like an atomic explosion that has left us almost bewildered by the wonders of the atom and the universe. Today a man can learn only a very small part of what is known to mankind. During the past half-century, the content of all educational levels has been profoundly strengthened in two ways. First, we became much clearer about the objectives of education and, secondly, leading scholars from the various disciplines became sufficiently alarmed about some of the soft educational processes that were being used. But by its very conspicuous nature and the fact that it is the cornerstone of our society, education has had to suffer from many people who always place most of society's ills at its doorstep. It has been harassed and it has been blamed. The man on the street for example points his finger frequently at educators and yet he does not understand and does not know your concepts of programmed learning, your concepts of 'teen teaching, your concepts of mediator learnings, your concepts of pier groupings, and he has rightfully though been able to say as educators are able to say frequently that we have made some great technological advancements and this is the key to the future. The midwestern farmer, the Southern sharecropper, and the Northern slum dweller are not aware frequently of these technical changes in education. But what they are aware of and what we hear crying throughout our cities now is the lack of change and where this lack occurs.

Education, unfortunately, and yet fortunately, has had always historically to assume two major roles, that of being the preserver of stability and at the same time the agent for change. And the picture is quite clear today that unless education moves on as a creative agent for change, there may be little stability to preserve.

And so I come with you this morning to suggest that many of you here today are to be congratulated for dropping your heavy burdens and heavy commitments and travel long distances to confer with us in deep dialogue, to help us to look jointly and collectively together at the most crucial issue facing Americans today and that is, how do we provide integrated quality education for all students and all peoples in America, and by your participation in this conference you are a living testimony to your belief in this ideal and to your belief in this philosophical concept.

We hope that some of the deliberations here today might provide some of the strategies for understanding a methodology for achieving this goal. For we recognize that these are extremely difficult, complex and critical problems, that can not be solved with unrealistic solutions, can not be solved overnight, can not be solved merely by playing the numbers game of physical desegregation, for our concern in fact goes beyond this to how do we produce in this country a quality educational experience all over America?

And so we say to you today, and as you proceed through your sessions, and we would hope that you would find that we understand that of the six basic institutions of any society, education is now being called upon to help us to desegregate and to integrate and to bring about human decency and human worth in the society.

I would hope as you prepare for your deliberations that you might consider for example these questions, as you proceed through the conference in four-man teams:

First: How does public education overcome the serious handicaps caused by the cumulative effect of general disadvantagedness in lower educational levels?

Secondly: Can education build today the kind of society that nurtures individuality, develops human potential, and affects basic societal changes?

Thirdly: Are we making the best use of the schools, the students, the staffs, the Federal, State and Local governments, and community organizations toward eliminating racial imbalance in the schools?

Fourth: What new theories, what new methods, can we collectively and effectively use in providing the kind of environment and the kind of guidance that will make it possible for young people to expand to their fullest potentiality, to develop a set of values based on moral precepts and social effectiveness, and to learn to think critically, analytically, and to act responsively?

Fifth: What can agencies like The Urban League do to mobilize the community to constructively achieve quality integrated education for all children and maintain effective dialogues for public education?

And finally: Does the educational process inherently and inadvertently militate against all children being afforded equal, fair, stimulating and appropriate opportunities to acquire an education and to discover and to develop fully their talents and capabilities?

We recognize at the National Urban League that we are confronted with a dilemma, and the dilemma is, how do we achieve integrated education while at the same time trying to maintain or achieve quality education? And the counter-dilemma to that, suggested, is it really possible to achieve a meaningful measure of either without the other? Is it really possible to have meaningful integration without quality? Is it really possible to have quality education without integration?

And so as I conclude here I would like to pass on to you the words of Commissioner James Allen, who says that, "You will not be surprised to learn that my reoccurring nightmare is an overcrowded, racially unbalanced mathematics class singing the fourth stanza of the Star-Spangled Banner while its teacher, trained in the social studies, is out on a strike".

Thank you.

(Applause).

CHAIRMAN STEEGER: Thank you, Mr. Stanley.

We'll hear next from Dr. A. Harry Passow, who is Curriculum Consultant for Mobilization for Youth here in New York City. He is also Educational Consultant and Lecturer on Education of the Gifted, Education in Depressed Areas and General Curriculum Development. He is a member of a number of professional associations, including the National Society for the Study of Education, and is active on the Committee on Educationally Disadvantaged.

Dr. Passow has written extensively in the field of Education. His writings, most relevant to this Conference, are "Improving the Quality of Public School Programs", 1960; and "Education in Depressed Areas", 1963. He has also published extensively in professional journals and periodicals.

Dr. Passow ... (Applause).

DR. HARRY A. PASSOW: Thank you, Mr. Steeger.

That introduction was a little longer than the one I had intended for my President this morning, but I'm not sure whether to pad mine out or cut it down. I think you'd much rather hear from Dr. Fischer. Dr. Fischer has degrees from Johns Hopkins University and his Master's and Doctorate from Teachers' College, Columbia University, plus many Honorary Degrees. He joined the Staff of the Baltimore Public Schools in 1930 as an Elementary Teacher, and moved through the various positions before becoming Superintendent of Public Instruction in 1953. He was appointed Dean of Teachers' College, Columbia University, in 1959, and President of that College in 1962.

Dr. Fischer serves on more Boards and more Groups than I'd care to enumerate for you. I just want to list a few that I think are particularly appropriate for this particular Conference. He is a Member of the National Advisory Council on Education of Disadvantaged Children. He is on the Panel on Educational Research and Development of the President's Science Advisory Committee, a Member of the Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association, Visiting Committee of the Harvard Graduate School of Education. He is Chairman of the Center for Urban Education and also a Member of the Board of Directors; Chairmen of the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students; and the Advisory Committee on Human Relations and Community

Tensions of the New York State Department of Education.

It is with great personal pleasure that I introduce to you Dr. John Fischer, who will give the Keynote Address for this Conference. John ... (applause).

DR. JOHN H. FISCHER: Mr. Passow, Mr. Chairman, Distinguished Guests, and Distinguished Participants in This Conference ...

I wish Harry hadn't read all of those memberships of mine. I feel tired already. When we were hearing earlier about the lessons that can be learned by flatworms, it occurred to me that this business of feeding the teacher to the students is hardly a new idea. We've been throwing teachers and superintendents to the lions for a long time now (laughter).

The other day I was sitting next to a lady at dinner, who told me a true story, that I just have to pass on to you this morning. She got into a cab up here at 60th Street and Fifth Averue and they turned into Central Park. As they came around that right turn to go north, a few people scurried out from one side of the road over to the other, whereupon the cab driver in indignation and with some anger said, "Those so-and-so Puerto Ricans", and the passenger said to him, "How did you know those people were Puerto Ricans?". "Oh", he said, "Lady, I can tell them. There are two things I can't stand, Puerto Ricans and prejudice" (laughter).

Assuring all American children equal access to good education has never been easy and it is not easy now, but the conditions in which this effort can be carried forward are a good deal more favorable now, I think, than they have ever been. For one thing, in both our own country and the rest of the world, the attitude toward education is more serious. One might almost call it, more desperate than it has ever been before.

A generation ago - some of you are old enough to remember this - without having had to read about it - George Counts asked the question, he said, "Dare the schools build a new social order?". You may remember that that happened in 1932, and those of you who were around then will know that the response to his question was hardly resounding. The Progressive Education Association took a year to reach a split decision on the answer, and others paid even less attention to it. By and large, his question was considered simply the extravagant language of a liberal visionary. Whatever it was the country needed there in the depths of the depression, not very many people expected to find it in the schools.

But the consequences of that depression, itself, of the wars that followed, then of the technological revolution that came along and now, most recently, of the massive, world-wide social upheaval, have put a very different face upon that matter. President Johnson summarized it a couple of years ago when he said that one great truth he had learned - and I quote him now, "Is that the answer for all of our national problems, the answer for all the problems of the world comes down, when you really analyze it, to one, simple word: education".

In one sense the President was only echoing what his predecessors have said in other words about the dependence of democracy on popular education. But Mr. Johnson is not content merely to speak about that relationship as so many other Presidents have been. He senses and leads the mood of the country and he has made the improvement of education and the extension of access to education a cornerstone of his entire domestic policy and, most recently, has proposed a strong new program in international education.

The significance ofwhat has happened since the end of World War II and particularly since 1954 is that we have begun seriously to consider the full implications of the relationship between democracy and education and not only at the institutional levels. We are facing up squarely to the fundamental proposition that to limit a man's education is to limit his freedom. This is what the problem of school desegregation in its broadest meaning is all about.

What is required, therefore, is much more than the mere proclamation of a new policy of equality. To be sure, the educational opportunities of Negro Americans must be equalized with those of their white neighbors, but equalization must be accompanied by prompt and vigorous action to improve the Negros' access to those opportunities and, further, to increase the inducements most Negro Americans have now to use the opportunities that are available until in all three respects the American of Negro ancestry can enjoy full parity with his white neighbor. The Negro citizen will inevitably continue to depress the composite level of American society and that society will continue to depress his standing as a man.

In a world in which education is essential to virtually every form of social, economic, political and personal advancement, it is pointless to argue that the schools need only to follow the lead of other segments of society. The schools will perform their functions more effectively, of course, when they enjoy the support of a favorable community climate, but the absence of such a climate can never be considered an adequate excuse for the schools' failure to stand for what is educationally sound and morally defensible.

Those who are charged with the leadership of educational policy and practice accordingly carry a heavy burden of responsibility. Those who lead other segments of public and private activity carry comparable obligation, however, an obligation to support school board members and the school professionals who offer sound leadership.

In approaching the educational task, it may be will to consider some of the salient facts. One of these is that a school which enrolls largely Negro students is almost universally considered to be of lower status and less desirable than a school attended wholly or mainly by white students. Nothing that has happened since 1954 has changed that generalization. Regardless of the quality of the building or the competence of the staff, the sizes of classes, a school composed of, say, three-fourths Negro students and one-fourth white students is viewed by both races almost without exception as inferior to a school in which the proportions are reversed. Whether such appraisals are wholly valid remains, at least for the present, beside the point. Schools that are known as Negro schools are so often inferior in fact that these generalized attitudes must be expected to persist, even though good schools can occasionally be found in Negro neighborhoods. The point is that generally first-rate schools in Negro communities have been so scarce that anyone who wishes to demonstrate that an institution known as a Negro school can produce first-rate results must be prepared to accept a substantial burden of proof.

A second fact, closely related to the first, is that the -- is the unfortunate psychological effect upon the individual child, who belongs to a school where every pupil knows that regardless of his personal attainments the group with which he is identified is viewed as less able, less successful and less acceptable than the majority of the community. This impact upon adult image and motivation of the child is perhaps the most tragic outcome of segregated education. It emphasizes the dual need for immediate steps to achieve wherever possible a more favorable balance of races in the schools and for strenuous effort simultaneously to upgrade to full respectability and status every school in which enrollment can not soon be balanced.

The action of the Supreme Court in striking down the legal basis of segregation in 1954 marked the climax of an obviously necessary first campaign but the new problems which followed the Brown Decision are even more complex than those which preceded it. The task now is not only to end segregation but to correct the effects it has produced. It is useless to debate whether de jure or de facto segregation is the worst evil. It was the consequences of the facts of segregation that convinced the Supreme Court that, quote, "Separate schools are inherently unequal". That was what it was that led the Court to strike down the laws that supported legally-segregated schools. To argue now that although the statutes had been declared unjust, the fact is acceptable, requires a curious twist of logic that I can not follow.

It would be irresponsible, however, to attempt to deal with a problem so deeply rooted in practice and custom and so often due to causes beyond the school's control without taking full account of its complexities. No solution is likely to be effective unless it is based on a realistic appraisal of the forces and the factors involved. Yet however complicated the situation or its final solution may be, the clearly essential first step is a firm and forthright confrontation of the problem.

Some of the bitterest attacks on school authorities during the past several years have been brought on not so much by the failure to integrate every school as by the apparent unwillingness ofthese school authorities to accept racial integration as a desirable educational goal.

To justify this negative position, the argument is sometimes offered that the only acceptable policy is simple and complete non-discrimination, but unless the school is color blind the spirit of the Brown Decision and of the 14th Amendment is violated. What this approach overlooks, or perhaps attempts deliberately to evade, is that the consequences of earlier discrimination can not be ended merely by ceasing the practices that produced them. Without corrective action, the earlier effects will inevitably persist. The equal treatment of unequals, it was pointed out long ago, produces neither equity nor justice.

A second justification commonly offered is the lack of evidence that better racial balance actually leads to better learning. It must be conceded that solid objective evidence on this question is difficult if not impossible to find and I'll not go into the reasons for that now. But even if sound statistical data were available, they could not be expected to furnish, in themselves, an adequate basis for policy.

The purpose of school integration is not merely or even primarily to raise the quantitative indices of scholastic achievement among negro children, although such gains are obviously important and desirable. The main objective is, rather, to alter the character and quality of the opportunities all children can enjoy, to provide them equally with incentives to succeed, and to foster a sense of inter-group acceptance in ways that are impossible when schools or students are racially and culturally or socially isolated.

The simplest statement of the situation to which school policy must respond is that few American negro children can now grow up under conditions comparable to those available to the vast majority of white children. Of all the means for improving this situation, of all the means particularly that are subject to public control, the most powerful is the public school. The negro child must have a chance to be educated in a school where it is clear not only to him but to everybody else that he is not segregated and where his undisputed right to membership is acknowledged by his peers and by his elders of both races. The most important social policies, including quite particularly educational policies, have never been based on scientific evidence but on a sense of what is equitable, what is just, and what is morally right.

Our system of universal education was established not because in our famous phrase, research showed that the country would profit from it, but because we were committed as a people to principles of equal opportunity and personal fulfillment, and we didn't need scientific evidence to lead us to that commitment.

Our now widespread programs of special education for mentally and physically handicapped children were established not for scientific but for humanitarian reasons. Every major policy decision affecting education has been taken on grounds of its moral, social and political desirability. It is after the policy action that science, technology and professional skill are called upon to devise the most efficient and effective procedures to translate purpose into practice, to find the ways to do what we have made up our minds to do; to be sure, some important gains in learning may come rather quickly in newly-integrated schools, but lasting changes in the deep seated behavior patterns of children and parents of both races can not realistically be expected to occur overnight. Important changes never come that way. What a school has to boast about at the end of the first grading period after integration is far less important than what happens to the quality of living in America during the next generation.

Of course, school integration will be more effective when parallel improvements are made in the housing, the economic opportunities and the general social conditions of negro Americans but the absence of adequate effort elsewhere only increases the urgency that prompt and energetic action be taken by the schools.

The effort to identify and define de facto segregation has led to the concept of racial balance. While no single ratio of races can be established as universally right, there is no doubt that when the number or proportion of negro children in a school exceeds a certain level, the school becomes less acceptable to both white and negro parents. The point at which that shift begins is not clear, nor are the reasons for the variations adequately understood, but the results that typically follow are all too familiar to all of us here, an accelerated exodus of white families, an influx of negro families, increased enrollment frequently to the point of heavy overcrowding, growing dissatisfaction among teachers, and the replacement of veterans by inexperienced and often unqualified junior instructors.

There are no fully satisfactory measures of segregation or imbalance but several tests are applicable. The simplest of these is to ask whether a particular school is viewed by the community as a negro school, whether the school is assumed to belong to the negro community or merely to be one that negro students just happen to attend, whether it has been provided especially for a negro population or has gradually acquired a student body disproportionately composed of negroes, the typical consequences of segregation can safely be predicted.

In gauging the degree of segregation or imbalance, the percentage or number of negro students in a given building is ordinarily less important, however, than the relation of that school to the entire system of which it is a part. It is not so much the numbers involved butthe substantial isolation of negro and white students from each other, which implies differences in status and presents the association that is the indispensable basis for mutual understanding and acceptance.

The reason that increasing numbers of negro students usually brings about unfortunate consequences in a school is that increasing numbers imply increasing isolation and it is the isolation that we have to attack.

The problem of definition and the establishment of formulae can not be wholly avoided but these are less-important matters than creating and retaining students bodies that will be considered acceptably integrated by the largest number of persons possible in both races. Universal approval of any such scheme represents unattainable perfection, but no plan for integration can be sustained unless it is supported by substantial elements of both the majority and the minority.

The plain fact is that there can be no integration without pupils of different races in the same school. Any plan, therefore, which increases the movement of white pupils out of the public schools will defeat the very purpose it is intended to serve. On the other hand, unless the plan advances integration at a realistic rate, it is certainly pointless and is probably illegal.

A number of administrative procedures for promoting school integration have been devised. I won't go into them in detail. There is open enrollment, there is the pairing or so-called Princeton Plan, there is the comprehensive reorganization of attendance areas and feeder patterns and now, the most promising and the boldest scheme yet proposed, is the educational park.

One of the things that we are not talking about as much as I predict we shall in the immediate future has to do with the softening if not complete erasure of lines between city school districts and suburban districts. I would call your attention to a line that is often overlooked in the Brown Decision. It reads: "Such an opportunity" - meaning the opportunity of good public education - "where the state has undertaken to provide it, is a right that must be made available to all on equal terms.

If now we find that on one side of a given municipal boundary the terms on which children have access to education are superior to the terms that prevail on the other side of that municipal boundary, I do not see how in all conscience or legality those boundaries can remain as though they were sacred. We must recognize that, as we so often say, the responsibility for education in this country rests primarily with the States. The authority for dealing with education rests also primarily with the States, and the language in the Brown Decision, I think, is therefore very significant.

The opportunity of education, where the State has undertaken to provide it, must be made available to all on equal terms. Hence, I suspect that one of the more promising areas to look to in the future will be the point at which city and suburban boundaries separate children who are enjoying different kinds of access and different qualities of access to education.

It is not my purpose here this morning to discuss any of these approaches in detail for there will be better opportunity to do that in the discussion groups. I mean merely to emphasize that there is no single plan, no magic key by which instant integration can be achieved. No one familiar with the realities of the problem could for one moment believe that there is a panacea, nor could anyone acting in good faith propose that there is one. No one, certainly, can promise to deliver one.

What is required is neither insistence on nor resistance to any particular method but, rather, a common and resolute willingness to search for answers, to search for an end to the destructive devisiveness that still plagues our communities. Such determination is obviously easier to describe than it is to obtain.

One friend of mine, who is well experienced in this field, said recently that there are no hard barriers to the attainment of school integration but rather a vast and dense fog that delays and frustrates effective action. I think he is right and I am convinced that this cloud of uncertainty, insecurity, fear and plain inertia will be dispelled only where the necessary leadership is forthcoming.

This is not to say that one or a few firm-minded individuals can work a miracle. It is, rather, to argue that the broad-scale public understanding and support which are needed can not be expected to develop spontaneously but they can not develop until a nucleus of intelligent, well-informed and capable leaders accepts in every community the responsibility to clarify the issues, to illuminate the possibilities and to propose forthright action. Much of that leadership, for both legal and psychological reasons, must be furnished by school boards and superintendents. Although every member of the school staff has an indispensable part to play, those who have the duty to set top policy and to see that it is carried out must be able and willing to project the goals and the programs by which the goals are to be attained.

But even the ablest and most dedicated school board and staff can not successfully mount any educational programs without the support of substantial and powerful elements in the community. The creation of a public school system that will assure every pupil equal access to excellent instruction is not the business solely of the school authorities. It must be approached rather as a task of comprehensive community planning, if you will, as a community strategy, in which many public and private agencies will be involved. It must begin with an imaginative and bold appraisal of what a first-rate system of public schools, well-staffed, well-supported, well-integrated, can play in the social, economic and cultural advancements of the community.

A second step will be to project the parts that agencies other than schools can play in the total efforts, to identify their respective roles and to determine how their work and that ofthe schools can best be inter-related.

A third step is to estimate the resources required, in manpower, facilities and money, to adapt the magnitude of the effort to the resources available, and to schedule the timing of developments to the predictable flow of those resources, maintaining at every phase a balanced plan of operation.

A fourth and possibly the most important part of such an approach must be the willingness of all concerned to make and to meet the necessary commitments of policy, resources and action.

What I am proposing would mean, for many organizations, a new relationship to the public school, and it would require on the part of some school systems a quite-different posture toward the community. It would entail a sharp departure from the tradition of autonomy that has characterized much of school administration since the turn of the century. The relative independence of public schools from other governmental and private agencies, although it was a rational and wise response to the hazards of partisan political control, has in some places separated the schools too sharply from other community concerns.

The fact that the public schools belong to the people and are established to serve the public interests, imposes obligations on the people as well as on the schools. In the past, many groups and individuals have expressed their interest in public education chiefly in the form of criticism, finding fault with what was done and attacking those whom they held accountable for errors. Others have seen the schools as instruments for promoting their own special interests and have not hesitated to apply every pressure to shape the schools to conform to their own predispositions.

Any public agency and the schools most particularly must expect criticism and pressure. The best of them do expect it, welcome it and, frequently, are able to use it in constructive ways. But while every institution for its own good and for the public interest needs external criticism, no sound institution has ever been built by criticism alone. What is called for now is a new coordination of community support for the schools and their purposes, a clear identification of the common interests of a wide variety of organizations and forces, and a deliberate effort on the part of all such forces and agencies to bring their collective influence and resources to bear, to bear not in competition for control of the school but in cooperation to support it.

It goes without saying that if this is to happen, the laborand industrial establishments of our communities must become vigorous participants.

The relationship between strong schools and a strong economy is often talked about but it is too seldom taken seriously by business leaders and major tax payers in many places.

There has been genuine progress, it should be noted, in many smaller communities, where forward-looking corporations view the improvement of schools as a necessary and desirable long-range investment. In the larger cities, such constructive interest is sadly more notable for its absence than for its presence. The time has come for the business leaders in the metropolitan centers of this country to appraise realistically the relationship between high-quality schools for all children and the long-term well being of the city, but it will be necessary that other groups also become participants in educational development. I think here particularly of the Civil Rights groups, which have an especially powerful contribution to make. In the past many of these groups too have used their energies chiefly to point out what was wrong, and have refused to join forces with school people to establish and support more promising programs.

The groups in our society that are most concerned about promoting equality of opportunity must be willing now to turn from the easier task of criticism to the much more difficult but much less spectacular work of helping to build the institutions and programs that are required.

This calls for a readiness to temper dramatic demands for special attention with the broader awareness of the total community interests. It requires recognition of the common obligation of all citizens and all groups to share the duty to build and maintain public institutions at the same time that they exercize the right to criticize them.

I speak of this relationship here because the part that the

Urban League has played in the support of public education might well serve as a model for other community groups. My specific suggestion now is that this gathering be used as a beginning point from which further action might be taken by all who are here to mobilize in their respective communities the community resources that are available and that might be developed to identify the problems that must be met, and to lay out the steps that areneeded to achieve high quality integrated schools, and to assure every pupil free and equal access to them.

No city in this country can reasonably expect its future as a place to live to be any better than the education its young children are receiving today. Any school system that subjects part of its children to the repression and indignity of ghetto schools while others are given the stimulation and security of a sound school environment is only accumulating further trouble for the future. The correction of such inequities must have the highest priority on the agenda of every school board and on the agenda of every governmental agency and private group that can help.

The time for action is now. A substantial part of the necessary leadership is in this room. The question for all of us is what we mean to do about it.

Thank you. (Applause).

CHAIRMAN STEEGER: Thank you for delineating the facts so skillfully, Dr. Fischer, and for your inspiring keynote message.

Our first respondent is Dr. Kenneth B. Clark, Director of the Social Dynamics Research Institute and Professor of Psychology at the City College of the City University of New York, and he is Research Director of the North Side Center for Child Development. Dr. Clark provided the psychological data which was in large part responsible for the 1954 Supreme Court Decision and set the stage for many of the current efforts for quality integrated education. His recent publications include "Prejudice and Your Child" and "Dark Ghetto". The latter has been hailed as a social science classic.

He is a Member of the Board of Trustees of Antioch College and also a Member of the Board of Directors of the American Psychological Association. Dr. Clark was recently appointed by President Johnson as a Member of the National Council on the Humanities. He has also been published extensively in the field of race relations and desegregation.

Dr. Kenneth B. Clark ... (Applause).

DR. KENNETH B. CLARK: Good Morning, Ladies and Gentlemen.

Before I heard John Fischer's talk, I told him that I felt sort of awkward and peculiar as a respondent to any talk which he would make on education because I was sure that it would put me into a position of "me, too", "I agree", and this is not a dramatic role for a respondent. A respondent is someone who should provide excitement and controversy for the audience by taking exception to points made in the initial speech and making it perfectly clear that he could give a better one (Laughter), and being quite violent in his objections to certain points.

Well, after I heard John Fischer's speech, I felt even more an anticlimax. I just don't see why the otherwise rather skillful arrangers of Urban League Conferences would ask me to be a respondent to the ideas of someone whom I have known for so long and with whom I have worked for so long --

There is something wrong with our electronic device. (Discussion off the record). We will have better ones on the moon, I hope. (Laughter).

No part of our keynote presentation can I object to. I agree with everything that was said. I can only add by way of footnotes and reinforcement to some of the points, which have been made. I will start with the question which John Fischer raised, from George Counts, "Dare the schools build a new social order?", and I would like to just rephrase this, the schools dare not build a new social order, or else we will not have either the new or the old social order.

This is no longer a rhetorical question. I am convinced that it is an imperative obligation on public education that those charged with this most crucial responsibility in our society dare to accept the obligations, dare to accept and move intelligently to discharge the responsibilities of providing our society with the guidance which it sorely needs to have a social order.

The schools and educators have this responsibility. They must fulfill it or we are lost. I then have some ideas as to, how do we know when the schools are fulfilling their responsibility to provide this type of guidance and stability to our society?

I think we can start with, what are the symptoms that the schools are not, or that public education is not fulfilling its responsibility to the society? Well, I think the first symptom is when the schools or educators or those responsible for this crucial social process are passive, or view themselves and their roles as merely reflectors of the existing social order, or being required to be compatible with or consistent with what is.

When educators or educational administrators and other educational personnel are defensive, apologetic and submit themselves to those who consider themselves guardians of the past, or special pleaders for specific power segments of the society, when we see educators being subordinate to interests of the larger society, then I think we have a pretty good clue that such educators and educational institutions under their control are not involved in the challenging and dynamic process of daring to help build a new social order.

I think another symptom is when we see the educational establishments moving only in the wake of other social forces, specifically in the area of race and education in America, it seems rather obvious - at least it has been obvious to me during the past fifteen years - that educational institutions and educators, public education, private education, education on the elementary, secondary, collegiate and even the university levels, have not taken the initiative in bringing about the kind of social change which Civil Rights groups, of course, and more recently even our legislators have been precipitating.

It took the NEA eight years to recognize the existence of the Brown Decision. Education generally seemed to have been content with following in the wake of other forces in our society

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-- other forces in our society as far as this particular issue is concerned.

I think a third symptom that the educational institutions and educators are not playing a dynamic, constructive and creative role in an affirmative answer to Count's question is when we see educators and educational institutions content to rely upon gimmicks such as open enrollment, or free choice approaches to the solution of the complex and difficult problems of freeing our schools from racial constrictions and racial dominations.

One - or, at least, I tend to interpret these gimmicks as reflecting the attempt on the part of educators to use a sort of administrative sleight of hand to appease Civil Rights groups on the one hand without alienating other groups in the community, on the other. I interpret this as a symptom that education is not playing a constructive, dynamic role in helping our society to build a staple and solid moral and ethical base.

Well, what are some positive sides? I think the following - or, at least, these are what I would consider some signs that education and educators are involved positively, constructively and assertively in providing the type of leadership which our society needs and must have.

The first sign, I think, is when we find the school system or an educational institution and the individuals responsible for policy and procedure asserting - asserting at times and with the necessary effectiveness - that it is in fact the primary goal and primary responsibility of education to free human beings from ignorance, superstition, social provincialism, racism. I think the time has come when a group such asthis, under the leadership of individuals like John Fischer, the prestige of Columbia University, the Urban League, can change the whole quality and aura of the racial dialogue in American education from a defensive, apologetic posture on the part of educators, to an assertive, positive, affirmative posture, namely, that it is the responsibility of effective education to free the American people from the shackles and constrictions of racism.

The goal must be stated affirmatively, not just desegregation, but that schools have the responsibility of helping to free the people of our nation from the constrictions of the past, the racial constrictions and other forms of social superstition and ignorance. It is the role of public education and private education to be in the vanguard of helping to cure us from racism, and that it is impossible for education to fulfill this role as long as it, itself,is constricted by racism, as long as America demands or permits American education to be defined in racial terms, as long as we, with the best of intentions, continue to talk about negro schools, and white schools, or the proper proportion of negroes that will make a school not segregated - as long as we continue to see race as an integral part of the educational process and educational institutions, it is difficult if not impossible for schools to free America from racism when the schools, themselves, are the symbols of racism.

How, then, do we do this? I think that what we have to ask of ourselves is that we dare to think the unthinkable thing, that we now, instead of talking about changing school boundaries here and school boundaries there, dare to talk about what are the massive forms of educational reorganization which must be engaged in if the schools are to be free to perform their function of freeing the society from the cancerous disease of racism?

What forms of institutional reorganization must we make? What types of regional planning of our schools must be engaged in? Must we continue to tie the organization of schools to political organization and political districts or must we now dare to think of educational systems that break urban boundaries and involve metropolitan area boundaries? What sort of transportational organizations are possible under these conditions? What sort of fiscal arrangements are possible?

-- That we dare to think of parks, clusters, campuses, in order to free ourselves from the constrictions of inefficiencies and the lack of economic viability of the neighborhood concept of school organization, which we inherited from the 19th Century, with its relatively simple social, economic and political problems?

What types of reorganization in curriculum will be required for the schools to perform this terrifically important function of freeing America of the inhibitions of racism and the problems of racism? What types of approaches to subject matter are necessary to go beyond a subject matter and skill goal for the educational process to include as an integral part of the curriculum teaching American young people empathy, social sensitivity, and the acceptance of diversity among human beings as something that is positive rather than something that can be put under the rubric of tolerance.

What must we do not just in our social science curriculum but in all aspects of the curriculum, the sciences, mathematic, even, to make the schools and effective part of this crucial responsibility of reeducating the masses of American people to free them from racism? What must we do in terms of reorganizing our schools and our educational system actively in terms of methodology and more effective and flexible use of available personnel or retraining of personnel?

These are the kinds of questions which arose in my mind as I listened to our brilliant keynote presentation. Thank you. (Applause).

CHAIRMAN STEEGER: Thank you, Dr. Clark, for overcoming the handicaps of this earthly communications medium so successfully.

Our next respondent and our final speaker of the morning is Dr. Martin Essex, Superintendent of Schools - in fact, newly-appointed, I believe, for the State of Ohio. He is also former President of the American Association of School Administrators. Superintendent Essex contributes to educational policy making at the national level in a wide range of assignments. He is Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Joint Council on Economic Education, Chairman of the School Education Committee of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, and a Member of the AASA Committee on Federal Policy in Legislation. He directed the successful campaign for a Constitutional amendment creating the Ohio State Board of Education. Dr. Essex became a respected authority on teacher employment procedures and academic freedom while serving as Chairman of the NEA Tenure and Academic Freedom Committee, and he has lectured on many university campuses throughout the country. He is a Member of the Editorial Advisory Board for Elementary and High School Textbooks of J. P. Lippincott Company, and he is also Editorial Advisor to a number of magazines in the field of education.

Dr. Martin Essex ... (Applause).

DR. MARTIN ESSEX: Mr. Steeger, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I suspect, even though these have been very brilliant and meaningful addresses this morning, that those seats may be getting a bit hard. Would you like to stretch for a half-minute or two?

(Brief recess ensued).

Thank you. I'm amazed that no more of you escaped than did, when I gave you that opportunity (laughter).

It is needless for me to say to you this morning that I feel a consummate humbleness as I follow these two - I think the top theorists in this field in our entire country, both brilliant and able men and both responsible men. I must kid my former contemporary, the Superintendent in Baltimore, of course - where he was in the blood-and-sawdust arena - for now being a refugee from responsibility but we Superintendents invariably do that, John. As you know, we had the greatest respect for you when you were Superintendent in Baltimore, and we do now.

But I am also humble for the very reason that this issue is an all-consuming one in our country and for the presence of so many of my distinguished contemporaries here this morning, able superintendents throughout the country, I'm sure who could make a better contribution than I will make here.

Frank Stanley, Jr. has always qualified as an optimist in my category, but he was exceedingly optimistic in this instance when he said that Dr. Fischer didn't have a manuscript in advance for us but he was sure I would respond better spontaneously.

The spectre here in our time is a very depressing one from the standpoint of democracy, and the democratic ideal, the dignity of human beings that we have epitomized in our philosophy of the American School, as you know, when we see the spectre of potential total segregation inour large cities in America, and this segregation of the schools ultimately leading to segregated cities.

We have the very real challenge, ladies and gentlemen, and this Conference certainly is not unaware of this, in saving America and saving the American city because this issue with which we are dealing today is central to it. And the challenge is unprecedented, of course. Both President Fischer and Professor Clark have made statements which I need not attempt to endorse, they are so obvious, so apparent, and so logical, and so meaningful that I should merely like to pass on to a few other observations that I hope might add some interest from the standpoint of a practitioner.

The theoreticians are essential in our country. They must spell out the new dimensions in idealism, and then, for the practitioners, such as are sitting with you here today, we must execute and plan and deal with these responsibly, so that is, I suppose, a difference in point of view that I would have.

Thus the central issue, as I see it, and I see it a bit differently than John does, I suspect in proportions, not in totality at all, when he raised the question that the issue was bigger, or perhaps not central -- and I don't mean to misquote John, but he raised the question about, the issue may not be so centrally associated with the matter of improving the rate of learning, or changing the rate of learning, as it is in its other moral and major concepts.

I would concur but only in part because I think that we must find a way, ladies and gentlemen, and this is the central issue as I see it, as a practitioner in the field, we must find a way to change the rate of learning.

Now, we - I'm talking about not a racial matter but I'm talking about the unilateral concentration of population in our central cities and the continued, burdgeoning numbers of persons who concentrate in the bowels of our big cities, who have not succeeded in the schools. Here is the issue, as I see it, we must find a way, and no where in the world have we succeeded in this yet. The Israelis are working at it, the Soviets may have gone farther than any of us knows as one direct-studies in the Soviet Union you see their four years of kindergarten and their preceding, very highly organized and well-staffed nursery schools preceding even the three, four, five and six-year-old kindergarten operations, but so far they have not been willing to offer observations of how this changes those youngsters in comparison to other youngsters, who don't have these very unusual comprehensive experiences.

So thus we don't have a guideline, we don't have a base line, except the appalling fact that as we have replaced the coal cutting machine, or rather designed the coal cutting machine to take the burden off the back of man with that pick and shovel, or as we have designed the cotton picking machine to take the burden off the backs of man in those fields, we have not been able to design a computer or other device which would enhance the rate of learning for great masses of persons now concentrated rather unilaterally in our large cities, not exclusively and it's not a racial matter because they come from Appalachia, they come from everywhere and all of the races, and all around the world, they come from all the races.

So, to me, this is the central issue, can we design a plan of education which will do this because, without it, this person can't feel wanted, he rather feels alienated, he can not compare economically in a system that demands skills and knowledge.

Thus, this one is central in my thinking as I see the employability factor, the respect factor. So if I were to leave any thought with you, it would be in that context today, and I think whereas the - now, the office of Economic Opportunity, locally designed, compensatory and additional efforts, the elementary and secondary act, all of these need direction, particularly the Federal programs need direction, and you as Presidents of Boards of Education, as Urban League Leaders, as a select group of the citizenry, the concerned citizenry of America - if I were given the challenge of selecting persons to come to a meeting, who would reflect the most sincere concerns of America, one could not find an audience that would exhibit it more dramatically and more substantially than the group of persons who are seated here.

But I think we must come to grips with this. I hope also that we would not overlook the fact that we must engage in current education in a very big way. In the Yo-Yo programs of more than a year ago, that we were associated with in our city, we field tested and designed a book of some 300 pages on parent education for inter-city parents. To us this has been the more rewarding direction in some respects, by the way the parents responded. True, more matriarchically than we would have liked, but this is the setting in which we work.

We, in designing our plan for pre-kindergarten education or kindergarten education in this country, I think we must get away very rapidly from the nursery school concepts of the '30's, which you have as a lingering vestigial character in the present program. We must be concerned with designing preparation for school rather than the "happiness", "enjoyable" kinds of things. I think children should have fun. I'm deeply concerned that they should have a happy life. We don't want it scarred and otherwise. But we must prepare for school and to succeed in school, if we are going to have an upgrading of this unilateral population that concentrates now in the cities which we represent here today.

✓ I would like to just throw out one idea, Professor Clark and President Fischer didn't propose to express specifics today and I think wisely, but may I just toss out one for you to shoot down and I'm certain you will, I don't see anyone who looks hesitant here this morning, but I am inclined to believe after our experimentation with team teaching and other devices that perhaps there is an area which might have a potential if we were to test it in this country, and that's the concept of the executive teacher.

The executive teacher can be a master teacher but with - not with the team concept of taking 100 youngsters for three or four teachers, but taking a classroom of youngsters and having the kind of aides that would work in the home, work individually with the school, and recognize the individual child.

As John Fischer mentioned, we must get this to its individual character. This is the only way it's going to go up. Inspiring and motivating.

And I think with the executive teacher we solve three or four problems. One, we keep the outstanding teacher in the inter-city, by the recognition and professional recognition that could come with it.

Secondly, we would attract other teachers to say, who have professional stature, because of the relationships, we like to work with other professionals, who have stature.

Thirdly, we have a space problem, which is not going to be resolved soon, and we could concentrate in one classroom.

Fourthly, we have a shortage of professionally-trained persons, and here is where we could have the lay person working with the teacher as a technician and taking training concurrently.

In addition to that we could have the half-way step of not getting the middle-class person completely in charge but taking persons from the community, who would associate with this classroom.

I should like to see this. The teacher is an executive, ladies and gentlemen, and we have not recognized it in this country and thus we have not gotten the quality that we might like to have had in the teaching profession. The teacher directs 30 or so youngsters. This is more persons reporting to the teacher than the President of G.M. has. Let's begin to recognize the importance of education by attracting, retaining and staffing, in a manner of practicality, because we can get the lay persons to assist, we can get this master teacher to stay, we can utilize the space that exists while we construct additional space.

These are some of the ideals and hopes and outlooks of an innovative character, which I hope that you will be concerned with today, and may I say we are running a bit behind time here this morning and this room must be set up for luncheon - may I say, Frank, that this has been one of the truly inspiring outlooks that I have had toward a solution to this most critical

American problem. This has hope. I hope we'll build on it, bringing the concerned and the able together to find solutions, but I must say that we dare not relax in this matter, we dare not spend our time in criticism. I think that the forward outlook that has been expressed by John Fischer and Professor Clark both are so viable and so responsible that we ought to take them home with us as working documents today. This can be a great boon to all of us. The challenge is full social acceptance, ladies and gentlemen, full social -- complete social acceptance. To have that, we must have a system of education which permits earning power and self-respect commensurate with full social acceptance, and this Conference can be a great boon in getting on the way with that central responsibility.

Thank you, ladies and gentlemen. (Applause).

CHAIRMAN STEEGER: Thank you, Dr. Essex, for your valuable observations and comments.

I have been asked to read a few important announcements, so will you wait just two minutes more, please, while I pass this information along to you:

The four-man team from each city is requested to plan to eat together and to continue to proceed through the Conference as a team. They should be prepared to give some indication of what their next steps for local planning are in the last general session tomorrow.

All workshop chairmen should come to the speakers' table immediately following this meeting to meet with Mr. Stanley.

Some packages did not have the expense vouchers in them so please pick them up at the Conference Office on the mezzanine. As Benjamin

Franklin said, money isn't everything but it's way ahead of what's in second place (laughter).

At five o'clock, p. m. today in the lobby there will be a Cocktail Reception, so you are invited to attend.

A couple of program changes. Mr. Arthur Edmonds, Executive Director of the Pittsburgh Urban League, will replace Sterling Tucker as Chairman of Group 10; and Mr. Henry Talbott, Western Regional Director of the National Urban League, will act as the Roving Consultant to the Special Interest Meetings in place of Sonoria Johnson.

There are a few announcements about the Special Interest Meetings. Those are tonight at eight o'clock, in Room E, the New Educational Approaches, under the direction of Mrs. Minna Barnett, of the Public Education Association. In Room F, The Nature of Protest Groups, under the direction of June Shagaloff of the NAACP. In Room Vanderbilt 3, The Role of State Government, under the direction of Alexander J. Allen, Eastern Director of the Urban League. In Vanderbilt 4, The Role of the Federal Government, directed by William Wolf, of the Urban League. In Vanderbilt 5, Schoolboard Participation, under the direction of Mrs. Betty S. Whaley, of the National Urban League; and in the Stuyvesant Room, Parent Education, under the direction of Geraldine Jones, of the National Urban League. In Vanderbilt 7, Adult Education,Jess Johnson, National Urban League. In Vanderbilt 8, Citizens' Advisory Groups, Ted Cobb, National Urban League; and please strike from your programs Vanderbilt 9, Educational Materials. This will not be held.

All Delegates, who have not registered, please do so in the outer lobby of this room before the Luncheon Meeting. Registration badges will entitle Delegates to the Luncheon Meeting.

A Conference Report, including all major presentations, will be prepared and mailed to all Conference Delegates.

Finally, an announcement about the Luncheon. It will be served in this room where we are now. During the break, which will follow the close of this Session, now, all participants are urged to spend the time in the Exhibit Area in the next room. Here you will see what many publishers of educational materials are doing as they seek ways of helping educators and others better depict the contributions negro citizens have made and are making in the social and economic development of this nation.

Thank you very much.

(WHEREUPON, THE SESSION WAS ADJOURNED).

LUNCHEON SESSION

CHAIRMAN SCRUGGS: If you would kindly finish your dessert in silence, you would assist us in going ahead with this Noon-hour Program. I would like to make sure that anyone who was not in the Morning Session would know those who are with us at the Head Table.

To my far right is Dr. John Fischer, President of Teachers' College, Columbia University. (Applause). Next to Dr. Fischer is Dr. Harry Passow, Professor of Education at Teachers' College. (Applause). Next is Dr. Austin McCaffery, Executive Director of the American Textbook Publishers' Association. (Applause). To my left are two people, who need no introduction but since they are here I want to present them, Mr. Marlon Puryear, the Deputy Executive Director of the National Urban League. (Applause). And next to Puryear is, of course, our old stalwart and standby, Past President of the National Urban League, Hank Bigger.

I was given one role on this program and I know Whitney is going to say that I assumed another one, but Whitney said yesterday that I was the Father of this Conference. Actually, I was not. I think I like better the designation that somebody else gave me today, the Grandfather of the Conference because, actually, Clarence Barnes, Executive of the Pontiac Urban League, came to me in Miami and proposed such a thing and it sounded so good that I had the temerity to take it to our Committee, which came back -- that Committee was composed of Mr. Kimbrough, from Seattle, Washington, and Hobson Reynolds, of Philadelphia, and so when we brought the recommendation back Whitney sort of accused me of putting something over on him and said, "Look, won't you amend the resolution to read, 'We'll do this if we can get the money'?", and I said,"Well, I have complete faith and confidence in my leader and I know he's going to get the money. So we are here today. (Applause). In looking down the program today, I notice that Hank Bigger and I are the only two people listed on this program who are not professionals, professionals in the sense that we work full time in an educational institution or in an agency, although as I get around the country, more people think that I'm a salaried employee of the National Urban League than think that I work for AT&T and this is getting to be a little embarrassing. The thing that I'm assuming is that as the grandfather of this Conference and as the only lay person here, I'm going to be a little of a maverick today. Dr. Brownell and some of my Detroit friends are sitting down front here. We had a committee in Detroit, appointed by the Detroit Board of Education of 42 citizens to study for two years equal educational opportunities. As chairman of one of the study committees, our report had this paragraph in it which I want to read to you, and I quote. "The committee has had brought to its attention through letters and confidential testimony from various community groups that there is a feeling of apathy in some school areas towards Negroes, migrant whites and other children from low social or economic families. This is indicated by statements that these children do not seem to have educatable potential. Therefore, it is thought that the best that can be done is to provide an acceptable housekeepping operation with these children."

Anything I have to say is sort of hinged upon this statement.

In New Jersey last summer there was an institute held for teachers, teachers in ghetto schools and the man who lead that institute, the first thing he said to that group of teachers was this. He said, "Don't come in here telling me that these children can't learn. What you are actually telling me is that you aren't teaching them anything." And he said it's time you get off your bottoms and start teaching them something. I am talking to you as a rather close observer of public school education and as a Negro parent who has had two children attending public schools. All three of us have been suffering from some of the gaps in our education. And I'd like to point out just for a moment how we have have gotten to today's growing tensions in the Negro communities around the country to the suspicion and antipathy in which public schools are held by Negroes. And I want to give you a few examples of personal observation and experience in investigation.

I first ran into this as a child in a Jim Crow school system where we had three textbooks and we Negro children received these text books after they had been mutilated and almost destroyed in the white schools of that city. We have been fighting constantly the counciling of Negro children and youth not to have non-traditional aspirations. I could tell you some stories of gerrymanding of school boundaries to keep defacto segregation working in Northern cities that bring tears to my eyes.

A personal experience. My son couldn't read when he was in the fourth grade level. I went to the school to discuss it with his teachers and the principal and I was told that, "Oh, he'll learn to read when he gets ready." But this was my son and I did something about it personally at home. But how many children have no parents to do this? And I got the impression that that teacher and that principal could have cared less whether this boy ever learned to read.

I would like to say to this Conference that I hope it will not get bogged down with defensiveness and educational and social work jargon. There must be a firm and affirmative confrontation by Urban Leaguers with public school policymakers and administrators. Public school education appears to be the bottleneck in the efforts to eliminate Negro colonialism in America. We can't wait. You public school people are going to have to forge some new pathways and the teachers unions and the educational associations are going to have to give ground with you on some of their pet eccentricities just as the building trades unions must do in conjunction with the construction contractors. I suggest to Urban Leaguers if we lose the battle for quality integrated education, we might as well have stayed in bed as far as other issues are concerned and further, that any leadership claims we have had will be taken over by less capable but more emotional agencies and individuals. I suggest to educators that unless you begin to get educational results, and I don't think it too much to ask the public school educators that Negro children reach the eighth grade with the ability to read, write and understand the language and handle the numerical system on par with other eighth graders.

I'd like to say this that even Negroes are beginning to look with askance at educators' requests for new school taxes because present taxes are not being used with equity and effectiveness for Negro children. From where I see it, we need a change in attitude as much as we need new funds. Roy, it has been twelve years since the NAACP secured the historic school decision before the Supreme Court but there has been little evidence that White America has been abiding by the letter of the law and almost no support of the spirit of the law. The old admonition of White America to Negro America of be patient and tolerant now has as its substitute be law abiding and responsible. This admonition will be no more effective than the former unless there is respect for law and order and for responsibleness as it affects Negro America.

The public schools have a great stake and a great obligation to lead the way in this and, ladies and gentlemen, this is what this Conference is all about. If we get bogged down here in pointing fingers and in theoretical jargon, the time is going to run out on us. Unless we go back to our communities and see that we have effective public education in these communities, we're lost. (Applause)

I hope that I have neither pre-empted the real professionals in this field but Whitney says I have a little neurosis on this public school thing and perhaps I have. Whitney says I have a little neurosis on this public school thing and maybe I have but its not a neurosis of destruction - it's a plea for justice.

We have with us today one of America's outstanding people. It will be silly for me to try to introduce him in any other manner than Roy Wilkins, Executive Director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. (Applause)

MR. WILKINS: Thank you, thank you. Thank you, Ramon Scruggs and thank you, ladies and gentlemen. In one respect this meeting is like a schoolhouse. They give us a time limit and drew diagrams and sent people around to hold your hand and be sure that you said what they hoped you were going to say within the time limit that they set but as a chairman we have a man here who doesn't abide by the rules. So I feel rather released from my fetters, as it were.

Ramon, I'm happy to know that you felt this confidence could be held because Whitney could get the money and I want to endorse that statement and I want to add something to it. Not only can he get the money for this Conference but he can get the money for a whole lot of other things and any time the Urban League gets tired of him getting the money, we're in the market for his services down at 20 West 40th Street. And in the meantime, I'm going to file a note with the Board of Trustees of the Urban League for a loan, as I think all rich cousins ought to come to the rescue of the poor cousins.

Seriously though, I'm happy to have this opportunity to talk here today on a subject on which I too have a neurosis because I happen to believe that the matter of public education is vital to the solution, first of all, of what we loosely call the Negro problem, and, second, the solution of the survival of the democratic society. Now, we've all talked about this. You learn in your first year in college, if not in your years in high school that a democratic society is the most difficult one in which to live because it places so much responsibility upon the individual citizen and that that citizen can be responsible and can give guidance and wisdom to the direction in which his country moves only if he has an adequate education and this country was the first in the world to base its development and the whole theory of its government on the system of universal public education. We don't have it in England and I don't have to call the roll, we just don't have it, period. This is the only nation in the world that attempts to set up a comprehensive system of public education. And we do that very frankly out of the necessity of preserving or vindicating the kind of things that we chartered in the beginning of this country because the whole thing will come tumbling down if we can't produce enough educated, alert and aware citizens with initiative and imagination to keep the country going, to meet its problems. How do you solve the problem of the atom bomb as you progress? How do you solve the problem of getting to the moon? How do you deal with the questions of religious liberty? How do you differentiate between questions of freedom of the press, and so on and so forth, all the vexing things that come down to us. How are we now going to solve the problem of metropolitan areas and states and regions and the Federal government and its relationship to the subordinate parts of government. The only way we are going to solve this is through the awareness and ability of citizens to grapple with the problems. And that's the way we're going to solve the Negro problem.

I've been asked to say a word here on community activities and responsibilities and having said that that is the topic, I will now proceed to discuss what I intended to discuss. But there is some relationship there, it's not as arbitrary as that. The overall duty of the Negro community at present is to call attention in every possible way, in conferences such as these and in other ways, to the present crippling condition of the Negro child in, first, the continuing segregation in the public schools of the South, and, second, in the largely unmoving de facto segregation in public schools outside of the South. We look back now from 1966, back for twelve years, and we can understand if we will, we can understand the present scepticism as to what is going to take place in the future by looking back to see how we were deceived in the past.

For example, in 1956, the war cry was that the Negro is going too fast and pushing too hard. He wants everything in a hurry. He wants schools desegregated, he wants them integrated, he wants this, he wants that, he wants the other thing, and William Faulkner, the late Nobel Prize winner, hitched his talents, and a not inconsiderable one if you could read him and follow him, to the enormous circulation of Life Magazine in 1956 and they made a war cry over this country. The Negro should be reasonable, should slow down, should not press too hard. Give us time, this was the Southern battle cry, give us time. They only had a hundred years before this but they wanted some more time. We have time to adjust to this and that and the other. Faulkner said we're with you but you must take it easy, give us an opportunity to make these changes. Well, with Life and Faulkner teamed together, it was a pretty hard combination to beat and we woke up ten years later in 1964, finding out that instead of the Negro pushing too hard and going too fast, the rate of desegregation in the Southern schools had been at the pace of nine-tenths of one percent a year and this was attained only by adding in the very fat percentages of desegregation in Tennessee, Kentucky, Missouri, Oklahoma, West Virginia and the border states. Because if we took the Deep South states alone, we would not have had even nine-tenths of one percent. So at the end of ten years we look back and we saw where we had been deceived. We'd been lulled to sleep. We had been told that if you're responsible, if you ease up on the pressure, if you do this, if you do that, we're going to play fair and we're going to catch up. They didn't play fair and they didn't catch up. And in 1964, the Negro looked around and there he was. And more importantly, there his children were.

Now we look back in the North and we see Negroes in dozens of Northern cities years behind in their studies despite an occasional valedictorian here and there and despite Negro captains in basketball and football, and so forth and so on. But when it comes to the matters of reading and writing and arithmetic and mathematics and science and history and geography and the humanities, they're behind. Like Ramon Scruggs told you that his son couldn't read in the fourth grade and the teacher wasn't concerned. He'll read when he gets around to it, when he wants to. And I had a Negro engineer who came to me from upstate New York and said he had gone to the school to find out about his son's semester outline for studies. He didn't have any mathematics. So he took a half a day off from work and went down to the school and he asked in the principal's office who should he see about his and one man there spoke up and said, "Well, I'm your son's counselor and I made out his program." So the father said you don't have any mathematics on there. He said, "Well, in my judgment, your son doesn't require mathematics." So the father exploded and said, "In your judgment, hell, I'm his father and I say I want him to have mathematics." And he got math and the boy is doing all right in math. But you see, if the father had let this go by in five or six years the kid wouldn't have been able to study math and when he graduated he would have to be something else besides what his father wanted him to be, which was an engineer, because he wouldn't have the math. And back along there, the counselor would have said, "Well, in my judgment, he shouldn't have had math." Now, he had nothing to go on, he hadn't failed in math, he hadn't shown any lack of comprehension for math or skill, but just in the judgment of the counselor. That counselor happened to be white but in your state, Michigan, we found Negro counselors, Negro counselors telling Negro boys and girls not to study chemistry because they couldn't get jobs as chemists. And this was in the 1950's. And if they'd have looked around and thrown a brick, they could have hit a Negro chemist from where they were in Michigan. So when we look back on all these things, as Ramon Scruggs said, he wasn't going to pre-empt anybody's time - but he did some of mine. But as you look back, you find the reason for this scepticism on the part of the Negro community of the school community.

Now, I know you have a lot of Negro kids who don't have any ambition. You've got a lot of white boys too who don't have any ambition, I've just been reading about the riots in Amsterdam, Holland.

There ain't no Negroes in Amsterdam, Holland. So you can't say it was a race riot. But these kids are just tearing up the pea patch over there just on G. P. Sure, you have some bad ones - everywhere. But the point is that the scepticism of the Negro community as far as the school community is concerned, it means that this Conference, and I'm sure it won't, ought not to not only bog down in dielectics but it ought not to be trapped by the phrases such as, "Let us talk this thing over, let us cooperate, let us work together." You know these are all what I call or can become very easy postponement phrases. They sound fine and each one interprets them in his own mind. Sometimes the Negroes interpret them as putting a bad problem behind them until the next conference and sometimes white people interpret them in the same way. Sometimes a few people on both sides interpret them as an invitation to action.

I've come reluctantly to this gathering, I must say. It rather hurts me to say so but I said it to the National Convention of School Administrators, to the California State Convention of School Administrators, I've come to the conclusion from what little experience I've had that one of the great bars to improvement in the segregation picture is the school establishment itself. Now this flies in the face of many declarations on the part of sincere and dedicated school administrators and teachers but I'm convinced that they are the victims of their own establishments. The principals, the superintendents, the assistant superintendents, the Board of Education, the hierarchy, the procedures, the seniority, the preferences, all the things that have built up in a lifetime in the school administration, and all of the rules and regulations that are regarded as sacred, regarded as good procedures, that are regarded as sound educational methods. All of these would be upset if we were really to upset and attack the roots of the segregation problem.

Now, I come from a school system. My people are sitting over here, from St. Paul, and many of you come from areas here where you had this problem but where you have chosen to shake your heads about it, to say, "Well, we'll ask Sam Jones over there to see what he can do about it." "We'll appoint a committee, we'll do this, we'll do that, we'll do the other." But you never really tackle it. A brother-in-law of mine was teaching French in high school in Missouri. And he said to me, "I'm getting disgusted." This was before the Brown decision. He said they're asking me to teach French to kids who can't even talk English. It reminds me of E. Sims Campbell's cartoon of two Negro college students walking across the campus with their big sweaters on and their numerals and walking underneath the trees and one of them said to the other, "Is you did your French?"

The point of the story is not what the kids said to each other, they likely say that, but the point about it is that the school systems had this inbuilt deterioration and differention and they choose to sweep it under the rug or ignore it or pay no attention to it. And the kids did come out and did go to college and say, "Is you did your French?" and a whole lot of other things which they should have learned better in the fourth grade and fifth grade and sixth grade. You must remember that the school establishments in the South are asserting that they are deserving Title 6, they say they're in compliance but we know they're not. We know that all sorts of things are going on and they are being backed up by Southern politicians who are writing to HEW in Washington and saying we have freedom of choice and we don't want the Federal government to interfere and you stay up there in Washington and let us look after Alabama and Mississippi and South Carolina. Well, one child in thirteen is attending actually desegrated schools in the South. Whenever the Negro community seems suspicious to you, remember this is what they're remembering - one in thirteen. And in the North, we have the City of Boston up here among the bluebloods, the aristocrats, the abolitionists, the ones that the advertisements in U. S. News and World Report and Fortune and all tell us this is where it all started, says Massachusetts. They advertise their state as the place where our country was founded and yet in Boston the school committee, not school board, you know Boston would call it something different, the school committee in Boston professes to have no concern about racial imbalance whatsoever. Only the other day they did reverse themselves in a fashion, they adopted a sort of a plan to correct racial imbalance. Do you think it was because any one of them went to one of those beautiful New England churches and prayed and had his heart changed? No, no, no. No, it was only because the State Legislature passed a law which says that cities that don't correct racial imbalance shall lose the State funds and Boston was losing $4 million. So, they changed. You know, they say prayer changes things. Believe me, a greenback works much faster. Ninety percent of Negro and white children are being educated today in segregated schools - ninety percent, and I recommend for your consideration the excellent white paper on education which was submitted and adopted in a report of the White House Conference on Education.

The community groups have been dismayed by these developments and I only leave with you four or five things that they must do, as I see it.

First, in order to show that we're not merely clamoring for somebody else to do something, I think the community groups in the Negro community again and again must remind themselves of their own obligation to keep their children in school, to fight for better and better housing and recreation and for more stable family life and for adherence to values. I think the Negro community has got to do some work within itself, to correct some of its obvious weaknesses. Now these weaknesses are, of course, the result of lack of opportunity, lack of adequate employment, revenue and income. But a lot of it can be corrected by hard work and attention within the Negro community itself. This problem is not one wholly on the school board. Part of it is on the Negro community. But thereafter the Negro community must insist, for example, on a wider use of the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Educational Act. I find to my amazement, as I go around the country that school boards and state boards of education are not using this money made available through legislation for ways of improving elementary and secondary schools. Oh, they're doing something on an after-school programs and this kind of a program and that kind of a program, but what are they doing about the regular programs from nine o'clock in the morning to three o'clock in the afternoon? Are the kids going - after they take part in these after-school programs - are they going back to the same old classes, two platoon systems?

Do you know that the section of the City of Los Angeles called Watts there isn't a single school that doesn't have a two platoon system? Not a single school. There's no transportation for those kids outside of Watts to go to some school where they can sit down and learn in a full day. All of them go in Watts to a two platoon system and then we talk about Watts ought to show more responsibility and what's wrong with those people out there and why do they act like savages. They act like savages because they haven't had an opportunity to be educated like human beings. And it's not for us to sit off here and point the finger at them.

The Negro community, second and third, must insist on some method to provide better teachers - not inexperienced ones for ghetto schools. The opposition of the teachers to this plan must be overcome. Teachers don't like it. A teacher who teaches in an upper middle class community where she talks the same language as the kids and their mothers and fathers, she doesn't want to go teach in a Negro or Puerto Rican or Mexican neighborhood in Los Angeles or New York or Chicago, or even a poor white neighborhood. She doesn't want to have to teach hard, use her ingenuity. She wants to teach easy according to the formula and the methods easily understood. The Negro community is going to have to insist on the incorporation of modern methods in the ghetto schools, teaching teams and all other things. If you're behind as Whitney Young has said, you have to get more. And I say that if we have a disaster in our country, we concentrate more relief in that area. If we have an explosion in Texas City and it burns up half the town, we don't say to Texas City, "Well, you only get the same amount of money as Sioux Falls, South Dakota." We say, "You get extra money in order to get you back on your feet and help relieve you of this disaster."

Now the Negro is one long disaster area, in education and every other way. And in closing, I'd like to point out that nothing here said or will be said here anywhere in your discussion groups or by any of the speakers means that the Negro is on trial. The Negro is not on trial. It might seem sometimes as though he is because sometimes his behavior is unconscionable - the behavior of some of them. But he's not on trial. The public education system is on trial. The United States of America is on trial. I think if we could ever get that through our heads...you talk about the English bumbling along... we bumble along too...we let things take care of themselves and we hope that everything will turn out all right and we do one-tenth of what we're supposed to do and we satisfy ourselves that we're going along the path in the way we should go. But I say to you that the time is later than we think, to borrow an old, old cliche. And this world in which we are living is now at a time when it has to choose. History is changing and it happens to be changing at the time when our race problem is changing. And it just could be that if we don't undergird our system with a strong educational system that's open to every person, that converts every American into an American, then the American system just might not survive.

I would like for you to think of it in that context instead of thinking of it in terms of whether you're going to do something for unmarried mothers, or whether you're going to do something for pot smokers, or whether you're going to do something for street hoodlums, whether you're going to do something for irresponsible people in the Negro community who don't care for themselves or for the whole community. You have to think of it, especially you, more than the politicians and more than the businessmen, you, the educators, have to think of it in terms of saving the system because you are the key and the cornerstone of the system. Nobody else is. And if the education system doesn't function, the whole structure comes tumbling down. Thank you so much.

(Applause)

CHAIRMAN SCRUGGS: Thank you very much, Roy. This Conference would not have been complete without your presence here today.

(Applause)

Now, without any fol-de-rol, I'd like to present to you that other great leader in whom I have so much faith and confidence that this Conference would occur, Whitney Young. (Applause)

MR. YOUNG: Thank you very much, Mr. Scruggs; my distinguished but poor colleague, Mr. Wilkins; other distinguished guests on the dais; ladies and gentlemen.

On behalf of the National Urban League and the Teachers College of Columbia, I would like to again express my deep appreciation to the very busy superintendents, school administrators, school board members, Urban League board presidents and Urban League executives, as well as other resource people who have journeyed to New York City and have agreed to participate in this what I hope will be a very meaningful and constructive two day session. I suppose I should also express my public appreciation to the Office of Education who at the urging of my Board member, Mr. Scruggs, and his great confidence in me prompted me to urge them to finance this particular Conference. I would like to restate what we consider as the purposes, the goal ought to be more romantic, the dream that the Urban League, our staff and Board and Teachers College had in the calling of his conference. We regard this as has already been said but repetition is a legitimate form of education - we regard this as a beginning, not as an end.

It is the beginning of a dialogue, the beginning of a partnership, it is the beginning of communication between the Urban League and in a larger sense the Civil Rights movement and the people in our country who are primarily responsible for that important function, education. While we have for the most part I think rested our dialogue on slogans and cliches coming from both sides, I think the time has come today when slogans will not be the answer nor protests alone but we must deal realistically with this very crucial question of education.

While we can justly criticize education as responsible for having a Civil Rights revolution at all in that if people had been taught from the beginning what democracy was all about and what their responsibilities were to it, there would have been no need for revolution. At the same time, I think we can praise education because without education there would be no revolution either because it was through the education, meagre as it was, that Negro kids and adults received - that they decided to have a revolution. It was because they read about Patrick Henry and the Boston Tea Party and Susan B. Anthony and the suffrage movement and the labor movement and they decided that what was good enough for those people aspiring freedom was good enough for the Negro citizen as he also aspired for freedom.

I think it ought to be a lesson for us. I think most of you people would agree, I'm sure people in the South would agree that the Negro has done a pretty good job of learning that lesson, that he has learned how to demonstrate and to protest and to sit-in and to have boycotts, marches, almost as effectively if not more effectively than those other pioneers in our history marched. Now, if they can learn that lesson as well as they have, and I think most people would agree that they have learned it pretty well, then is it not reasonable to assume that they can learn some of the other lessons that are so crucial in moving into the mainstream of American life. I would certainly echo what both Ray Scruggs and Roy Wilkins said in relation to the crucial, the critical, the major role of education in this whole equation. There's not a single area of Negro aspiration that is not directly affected by it. Whether we're talking about jobs or housing or health and welfare or voting, education is basic. Education both of the Negro to be able to acquire the skills to be an employee and the education of white people who happen to be employers to be able to see beneath the thin layer of a man's skin and to see that he has not just a heart and a soul to breathe freedom but he has a mind and a brain that is capable of a great contribution.

We need education of people who live in suburbia to the fact that their neighborhoods are but tiny enclaves filled with sameness and sterile blandness and that that neighborhood is not likely to produce the child that is equipped for a multi-racial society and a multi-racial world. And they need education to the point that they will acquire enough security and sophistication and just plain common sense that they need change this kind of gilded ghetto situation in order to prepare their kids for the kind of world they're going to have to live in.

We, I think, have to praise as well as blame education but I think most important, we have to challenge educators and we have to challenge ourselves. I shall never forget what Dr. Kepple when he was commissioner of education said to the school administrators and I'm sure most of you were present in Atlantic City some two years ago when he said, "Thank God for the Civil Rights revolution," and that it has in fact dramatized the inadequacy of education for all people and it might well be responsible not just for purifying America but in the process lifting the level of education for all people.

Specifically, I think that this Conference will make certain basic assumptions. One, that education is crucial at any point in history but it is essential in the year 1966. No longer do young people have an option about whether or not they will get an education. And the education I'm talking about is not the education that simply equips one to make more money. I'm talking about an education that equips one to be a social being, a more decent and humane being who regards democracy as an opportunity to contribute as well as an opportunity to receive. I can never forget that we once had a governor of a state who later, who before that was a Rhoades scholar, who later became Secretary of State, who later became a Supreme Court justice, but was a most violent, vicious racist we've had in the South. This is why I say we cannot rely solely on the ordinary definitions of what education happens to be all about.

I think a second assumption would be that if we agree that integrated education is in fact the only way to get excellent education, it took us a little while to get Dr. Conant around to that point, he didn't come around through them slums and suburbs, but he did later, I remember we saw the first prints, the galley proofs of the books, Slums and Suburbs, and Ken Clark and a group of us, some of the NAACP people and others, called on Dr. Conant and tried to get him to change this part in the book that said that you can get an excellent education without being integrated and that quality education was not necessarily dependent upon integration. At that point, he was not willing to make the change but later he did make it and I'm grateful. It shows that - it's a sign of his greatness that a man so renowned as Dr. Conant can say I was wrong.

Now, if we make the assumption that quality education is a goal we must shoot toward and that integrated education must come at some kind of planned, progressive - in some kind of planned, progressive manner, then we must force ourselves to the fourth conclusion and that is that it will not just happen, that the ticking of a clock never brought about a single social reform. People change things. We didn't get into this segregated mess that we are now in, residential segregation, the white noose around our central cities, by just sitting by and letting it happen. It was planned. It was consciously and deliberately planned in the sense that Negro citizens were not permitted to move into certain neighborhoods. They were concentrated in the central cities and the port of entry for them became a prison and it was compounded by some wonderful draftsmen who were drawing up the school lines and some architects and builders and city planners who were planning locations of schools. And so we've got to commit ourselves to the same kind of, creativity and genius and skill that went into making the schools exclusive. We've got to now use that same genius in making them inclusive. And I'd like to feel that the educators of this generation are just as smart and astute in undoing what your forefathers have done. At least this will be a real test of your ingenuity.

Now I know that this is not easy. I'm reminded of the theme song in Sound of Music, the Roger and Hammerstein musical, Climb Every Mountain, Ford Every Stream, Follow Every Rainbow Until You've Found Your Dream. There are an awful lot of people who prefer to stay in the valley where the winds of change are calm rather than climb the mountain with all that it takes in terms of energy and risk and climb among the fog and the mist to an uncertain top. Most people prefer not to climb the mountain. Most people prefer to stay in the valley. We're going to have some superintendents who are going to be willing to climb the mountain providing they have the same dream that those of us who planned this Conference had.

I suppose the one word would be the word you would sound off if we asked what was needed, the word "more." You would immediately begin to say that that's the answer to your problem, more money, more good teachers and more good physical facilities and more integrated neighborhoods and more cooperation from parents and civic officials. On all of these I would agree but there is something in this type of "more" psychology that tends to make one immobile. He becomes fixed on this notion to the point that he feels nothing can happen unless somebody else happens to do something. I submit to you today that we do not run into a single area of resistance that education is not blamed for it. The employers tell us in no uncertain terms that the reason that they do not employ more Negroes and do not upgrade is because of the failure of education and they really talk about you folks, terribly. The same thing is true in all other areas. They are now blaming you - if I were you I would not get defensive - I would say, O. K. - if education is going to be to blame, then we got to have the resources to do the job. We'll accept the responsibility and the blame, but this is what it's going to cost you. I would suggest that here are some things we can do yesterday. That we don't just have to sit up here and talk about more the rest of this Conference, as realistic as more happens to be in this total problem.

The first thing we can do yesterday is more realistic allocation of the resources we already have. There are still too many excellent teachers who are teaching in those neighborhoods and those schools where the children have the most going for them and where the parents either know more or think they know more than the teachers themselves and who in fact are probably as good if not better teachers than some in those schools. And take those excellent teachers and put them where they are needed most. If medicine did what education does, it would send out interns to do complicated heart surgery and they would send their competent surgeons out to treat some middle-class person for a common cold. This is in fact what education has done too long. We can take what resources we have and we can put them where they are needed most. This, to me, is just ordinary business efficiency, it is ordinary, it seems to me, common sense.

Secondly, I think we can do something about this business of massive programming, concentration of effort. The Urban League called us the Marshall Plan some few years ago. We were criticized for it. I like the saying of Anatole France who said, "I prefer the ignorance of enthusiasm to the indifference of wisdom." As a society that has indulged itself historically in an excess of callousness and brutality and indifference, I think we can tolerate if you do not mind for a little while an excess of kindness and of decency and of humaneness and if we are criticized for this, let's plead guilty and feel that this is the only way that we can hope to balance the score. We can do something about attitudes. There's just no question in my mind that attitudes happen to be the critical thing, that the attitude that this Negro child is not educable, the attitude of low expectation on the part of the teacher as far as that child is concerned, which very quickly is recognized by the child himself.

I talked to a school superintendent in Kentucky the other day and he made what I thought was a rather good comment. He said, "I went finally to visit in a slum neighborhood a family living in the worst possible situation and I came away from that house thinking that if a child grew up to be five years of age in that situation, then they were educable. If they were smart enough to survive, then they had something going for them." Now, maybe some of us need to go in. We spend so much time identifying the pathology of the underprivileged that we don't ever look at the strengths. Try if you will to live and to survice on the kind of incomes and the kind of environment which these people face and you come away with a great admiration. How do they do it? They must be educable.

About three - a couple of months ago, I was the marshall of a parade on Fifth Avenue and there were some five thousand people who - following, about four thousand of whom were youngsters ranging in age from about five to fourteeen. And as they passed the reviewing stand, they would do their little numbers at a single command by their drill instructor. For the next three or four minutes, they went through a series of some fifteen or twenty of the most intricate steps and they didn't make a single mistake. These were kids from the Harlem slums. Now, if they were smart enough to have mastered those intricate steps, one right after the other, at just one single command, they can learn. They were motivated to do this. They had some recognition. They were being applauded. Somebody was saying, "We care." And they had already marched 40 blocks and they were supposed to stop at 80th Street but they wanted to march on to 125th, march on in Harlem. So they were both smart and energetic. They were not lazy, they were not tired. And I was impressed by this and I said, "Look, this child can be reached." But he can only be reached by a teacher and a principal and the principal is the real key on this. And, of course, the key to the principal is the superintendent.

All of you have heard of the New Rochelle school situation. You remember that Judge Kaufmann decided that this was in fact planned de facto segregation. The papers showed the map drawing the lines - you know, they'd reach up here and get a Negro and bring him in, to keep that school all-Negro, Lincoln School. You know they closed the school and transported the students - forgive the word - bussed the students throughout the city when it was discovered that bussing was no new phenomena in our society, that about 50 percent of the white people in Philadelphia and a lot of other places have been bussing their kids for years to private schools and those who can afford it bus their kids 300 or 400 miles to prep schools. Most parents can't wait till their kids get out of school to bus them off to camp. So bussing is no new phenomena. Well, these kids were bussed around to some ten or twelve elementary schools. Now, they weren't selected in the sense that the smarter ones went to this school and the others went to that school.

They did it at random. And there is as much difference as night and day as to what happened to those kids based on the principals in those schools where they went. The principal who said, "Well, it's the law, the city council passed it, I guess we got to do it. Come on in. We got to accede but that's it." Nothing happened. Parents didn't come to PTA meetings, students' achievement levels did not go up. They segregated themselves, they felt unwanted. They found reasons to get sick and not come to school. Another school where the principal cared and who infected his whole faculty with the caring and who built in without embarrassment certain remedial kinds of programs, the parents came to PTA meetings - he reached out and got the parents. And personally had teachers call on them, and made them feel a part. They came to PTA meetings. The achievement levels of those kids have zoomed so that there's very little gap now. Now the answer was the principal and his ability to provide leadership. This is what we need today in this problem. We need among superintendents, among board members, we need leadership. We need to - and we can do this as of yesterday - we can begin individualizing people and children particularly.

I was on a train the other day - on a plane flying in - and the fellow seated next to me began to talk and found out the work I was in, and we said, "Can I ask you a question, I got a personal problem." He said my wife and I are both very liberal and we think that there should be freedom and equality and all of this, but, he said, my wife just doesn't feel comfortable around Negroes. I just don't know what to do about this. She wants to but she just doesn't feel comfortable. And I said, "Do you mean she feels inferior and old around Ralph Bunche? Do you think she doesn't feel equal to him intellectually? Is this her problem?" And he said, "I get the message." It's what Negro are you talking about. There is no such thing as The Negro. There are all kinds of Negroes. And the sooner we can come to recognize and get our school boards and all of the people in the community to recognize that the existence of a lily-white school is no assurance of uniform genius - let me put it another way - the gap between the dumbest white child and the smartest white child is wider than the gap between the average Negro and the average white. In other words, you are likely to have some marginal people even in an all-white school. So the answer really isn't to keep the school white to assure some kind of uniform standards or something, the answer is how do you individualize the child, how do you teach people with varying educational and cultural and environmental backgrounds within that same classroom. And here again calls for this kind of individualizing. It calls for saying to a child, "I care about you." It calls for cutting through that defense that a slum child has had to develop to survive, that so many teachers call hostility and meanness. It's not hostility and meanness. It's a kind of protective shield that a person puts up to stop hurt and to stop alienation and rejection, and if they go into a situation saying, "I don't like you and I don't want you to like me," then they're saved if somebody doesn't like them. But the teacher who can cut through this and see it is the teacher that you superintendents are going to have to work on.

Now, like Roy, let me say that I do recognize the responsibility of the Negro community and in this case the Urban League. I talked about a partnership I hoped would come out of this Conference. And there is something the Urban League can do yesterday for the educational systems of our country, for school administrators and for board people. First, we ought to have the facts and we ought to make these available as to what is the actual situation as far as the gap between Negro education, white education, what about the training of the teachers, what's the difference in the crowding of the classroom and the preparation of the teachers. What about the physical facilities? What about the equipment that's used? What about textbooks? We ought to let school people know.

Let me put it this way. We had a conference last year with the Textbook Publishers Association and we had everybody who had ever published any book, almost anybody who had ever written a book in the field of education at this conference. And to a man, they stood up and they said, "Look, if there's a demand for books that include Negro history or that show Negroes just in the regular walks of life along with white people, we'll put it out tomorrow." "We are a commercial institution." And they mean it. There's no great ethical barrier here to overcome. They're concerned about money. And if the school boards around this country say that the time has come when a Negro child and a white child need to know that Negroes have participated in the building of the country, that they have died in the American Revolution and in every war, that they have helped to make the country what it is today and they ought to be seen. Both white and Negro kids need to know this and it ought to be in the textbooks. Then those textbooks will be forthcoming and this is what you've got to ask for and the Urban League ought to help you - help select those books, help to find those books for you.

Now the Urban League has these 76 chapters around the country. We have over - 76 affiliates - the NAACP has chapters - we have 76, we are - they are filled up with very important board people, over a thousand full time staff people. We are an interracial organization, believing in interracial teamwork and cooperation. This vehicle we are at this Conference putting at the disposal of the educational administrators in this country.

I would hope that Urban Leaguers would do something about what happens to a child after school. I recall how the Jewish community through its Jewish centers, its community centers, gave an enriching experience, told kids about their culture, made them proud of their background, but also helped them in some reading if they needed help - instilled some pride and some feeling about achievement and achieving excellence. I think the Urban League has the responsibility to do something and start some programs for the kid after he leaves that classroom. I think we have a job to do and we're trying to do it, as money permits, in parent education because all the school does is apt to be counteracted by a parent who doesn't understand what's happening and doesn't provide the necessary support. And so we need an ongoing parent education program. And we need also middle-class Negroes who belong to sororities and fraternities to do something about setting up these study centers where there are encyclopedias and where there are some books that they ought to volunteer to bring to these places. And to put these in churches and to volunteer to be there to help the child study because many of these people are in homes where there is no encyclopedia, no intelligent family dialogue, nobody to help, to answer a question about a home assignment. And I think the Urban League has this kind of responsibility.

I think finally that it has the responsibility to help the school situation, the school officials to get the resources. This means developing some kind of sophistication about how the system works. This means supporting bond issues. It means electing officials who have a commitment to education and voting out officials who do not have a commitment to education. What difference does it make if a man stands up and talks about how he's for civil rights and then he's sitting up there voting against every tax issue, every bond issue that is designed to improve the quality of education. He is of no value to us at all, and the Urban League ought to do something about this. In other words, we have got to somehow now help our youngsters and our adults get the same exhileration and the same satisfactions from marching - that they got from marching in front of five and ten cent stores, they got to get this now in marching to PTA meetings, in marching to libraries, in marching to adult education centers.

I spoke to a graduating class in Alabama the other day and I told the young people there who were finishing and those who remained that while I got as much of a thrill as anybody in singing, "We Shall Overcome" and being on these marches I've been on and may have to be on some more, that if that is the limit of your arsenal of tools, then I know only two places they can be used. If all you can do and are equipped to do is to march, then the only place I know for you is the army. The industries and the employers I talked to are not hiring anybody like this right now. And if your chief equipment is singing, "We Shall Overcome", that's all right if you can sing as well as Harry Bellafonte or Marion Anderson. If you don't sing that well, then this will not be too useful an item. So please see these as avocations and not as full time occupations. This I think we need to keep saying over and over. We are not interested today, as far as I'm concerned, in trying to get Negro citizens to act like white citizens. This is not our standard. And so, when my daughter tells me, "Well, I enjoy the shrug and the twist and the true stories and all the white kids like this too." I say, "That's not my standard. Somehow I've got to instill in you a desire that makes the classics more interesting than true stories and the ballet more delightful than the twist." And this, I think, the Urban League has a responsibility for.

Well, let me say in conclusion that - well, Roy said it, it's not just the Negro at stake, it's the country, it's everybody else. But education happens to be the key. But what we need to make education live up to its great potential. We need some Rickeys in education like we had in baseball. You see, we didn't get Negroes in baseball suddenly because Jackie Robinson was found and had a college degree, could hit a ball and run a base. We had Negroes like that 50 years before Jackie Robinson. We got Negroes in baseball because we found a Branch Rickey, a man who had the courage of his conviction, and when all his friends and the other owners said to him, "Mr. Rickey, don't do this, don't rock the boat." You know, like Mrs. Gunnars and all of the people, the parents, the taxpayers associations say, "Don't rock the boat." And some of your board members say, "Don't rock the boat." Well, they said it to Mr. Rickey and they said the customers will walk out, the players will quit. And he said I got to do it. It's right. I'm lying, it's not an all-American game, it's an all-American white game. And he did it. The customers didn't walk out. Jackie Robinson got whiter every time he hit a home run and nobody raised any question, and that boy from Mississippi when he looked at his choices, either going back to pick cotton in Mississippi at $20 a week or staying up there getting a World Series check for Jackie Robinson, he hugged and kissed it. There was no problem at all. But Mr. Rickey wanted to do it and he did it. Now this is what we need. It seems to me we shouldn't have to rely on the field of entertainment, of burlesque, of baseball, to lead in the field of integration. It seems to me that we ought to be able to get schools opened up as easily as we can get houses of prostitution to open up. It seems to me somehow that we ought to have the kind of people not just out of a devotion to the field of education but out of a dedication to being a man, to being a man, that's all. That they ought to be willing in this day and time to provide the leadership. You are not the mirrors nor the reflectors of a community. You are the teachers and the molders and the leaders. The community will be anything you make it. You can make it the kind of community, I'm sure, that this Conference was designed to enhance.

Edmund Burke said that the only thing necessary for the triumph of evil is for good men to do nothing. By your presence here and your attentiveness and your participation in this meeting, I am confident that you are determined to do something. Thank you very much.

(Applause)

CHAIRMAN SCRUGGS: I have a little secret I want to tell you. As I sat talking with Roy Wilkins during lunch, Roy was lamenting that they told him he had to say what he had to say in fifteen minutes, and he said, "I don't think I can do it". I said, "Well, Roy, I'll tell you what, I'm not supposed to talk at all but I'm going to talk about six or seven minutes and this will give you an excuse to do what you want to do". I think this probably also gave Whitney a little excuse too.

This was supposed to be followed by some questions and discussions, but we are running a little behind time. Frank Stanley, the Generalissimo, over here, says, "Take fifteen minutes for this". Before I get the first question and while you're thinking about them, I want to just say this -- you've heard this story but I think it's apropos here:

The hen and the pig were walking down the street very hungry, and they came to a ham and egg place. The hen said, "Let's go in and get something to eat". The pig said, "Oh, no, we can't go in there", and the hen made quite a protest and the pig said, "Well, you see, if we go in there, you'll only be making a slight contribution but I'll be making a total commitment" (laughter). Now, what we really want you to do is to stop making a slight contribution and get a total commitment.

Now, I have one of my bosses on this side saying, "Take fifteen minutes" and the other one saying that we shouldn't do this, and -- I think what we have to do here is to get these questions out in the Workshops. All right, I'll hear this one because it's rather insistent.

DR. ALEXANDER: I'm Dr. Alexander, I'm President of the Orange Board of Education and this is a dialogue, I understand from several speakers. I thought I might have something to say.

First of all, I listened to a speaker this morning who talked about the individuals who lived in the bowels of our cities. Well, I'm a physician and I know what happens to inhabit the bowels, so I think I ought to have something to say and I'm coming before this Conference to urge that the main point of emphasis be shifted from integration to comprehensive quality education for all children. The issue of school integration in the United States today is in grave doubt. It has been put in doubt by three events:

One, the massive in-migration of negroes from the Rural South, seeking to escape from poverty and terror. The second, the rapid out-migration of whites to suburbia; and, third, of those whites remaining in the community, who have not fled, most are attending parochial and private schools.

My contention that integration is in grave doubt is further confirmed by the following statistics, which show clearly the tremendous increase in the non-white school population of all large cities since the 1954 Supreme Court Decision - for example, New York's non-white public school population is now 50 per cent, compared to --

CHAIRMAN SCRUGGS: Doctor, I'll have to call your -- a halt on this because the Conference is scheduled. We would welcome your comments and your contributions in the Workshops, but I think it is unfair to hold this audience away from the scheduled program and I hope that you will make your contribution and state your position in the Workshop this afternoon.

DR. ALEXANDER: Would it be possible -- I've got copies of this ...(inaudible)...

CHAIRMAN SCRUGGS: Fine. We'll arrange it.

We would like to at this time bring this Open Session to a close and urge you to go to the next item on the program for the afternoon. Thank you very much.

(Whereupon, the Luncheon Session was adjourned).

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Tape #1 - 6/18/66 - Second General Session

Dr. Max Birnbaum - Presiding

(Initial remarks by Dr. Birnbaum were not recorded-it appears he started speaking a few seconds before public speaking system was turned on..)

. . . . . . panel of reporters in the order in which they are going to come up and report to you. Now, this is the order of the size of the community and the first reporter will be James Etheridge, Deputy Director of the Cleveland Urban League, who will be speaking for the group which comprised cities from 8 million to 800,000, the largest communities in the United States. Each of the reporters is going to be limited to five minutes and if there is any time left we will give them a second round if they have anything substantial to add and then we would like very much for you to react to some of the issues which they present.

Because there are a lot of reporters and a lot of groups, I may not cover - I will not cover all of the points - because there are a lot of reporters and there are a lot of groups and we had all the same questions, there will be members in my group who will note that I don't cover all the questions - all the things that we discussed, but some of those things will be picked up by other recorders in other groups. Our group spent a lot of time, a considerable amount of time, on the effect a community could have or should have on the educational policies of the school boards. One of the things that came out of our group was that in the large city, ① there is not a single community that - but there are a number ofcommunities, and that someone in the larger community should act as a organizer in pulling all these different factions together and producing or getting a task force that would then hear all of the different arguments or theories advanced by the different groups and attempt to come to a consensus of what the community expects out of its educational system. And that once it had come to this - to a conclusion, that it should put a money cost on this package and then go out and help the school board to go out and get the necessary money to do what it wants or what it thinks its educational system should be. It was felt that there should be more involvement of the community in the things that the school ✓ boards were doing. In other words, ② the school board was not always honest or fair in its talk to the community and it did not level with them as to what its actual needs were, as to what it was doing and was not doing, and that the community at times looked upon the school board with a degree of suspicion because of this. It felt that this task force should point out to the community and to the school board that the schools really belonged to the community and not to the school board. Also, that the school board should make its policy known around quality integrated education, that it had to do this, had to make this statement or it was going to leave the people in a delema as to what it was after and, therefore, might find persons who were not willing to support them. Another area we were concerned with was the intercity schools - how do you get and retain good teachers in the city - in the intercity (inner city) in the deprived school areas. There were a number of theories advanced - extra compensation and so forth. There was also the idea brought forth that the schools of higher learning, the colleges and universities were really directing the good teacher, the better teacher, away from the inner city - thatis, by pointing out to them the advantages they could get either in suburbea or some form of a private teaching situation. We were also concerned with how do you equip the student that is not in the inner city schools, the segregated school, who is not likely to get integration in the very near future. In other words, it will be some years before we get the good quality integrated education that we were talking about. How do you equip him at this point to come out of the system able to do something, that is, to function in the community? And how does the school system and should the school system develop the kind of program that would be so attractive that you would stop the outflow of the white population into suburbea and start to attract those persons back into the inner city school system. There was a lot of concern and a lot of recommendations around the role of the Urban League and what it should be doing. One of the things that came out in there and you will get more of this from the other reporters was the fact that the Urban League needs to become more knowledgeable about the educational system, that we really aren't as knowledgeable as we should be and we are not so sure that we are really trying to become, but this is a major problem and it is becoming much more important and maybe much more emphasis should be put on this area. And the League is in a peculiar position in that it can and should attempt to get the thinking of the community, to interpret this to the school board, and to interpret to the community the things that the school board are doing as well as the things that the school borads are not doing. One other point was the fact that, ____________________ educators must realize in the larger cities the fact that the money situation is real tight, as I am sure that they all do, but that they must in some kind of way become more political minded, not in a partisan sense, but they must learn to work more with the city and county government so that as levies and meals and so forth start to come on the ballots that they don't all start to hit at the same time and confuse the people and take the chance of everybody losing. There was also concern that the teachers must be placed where they are needed most. Educators are concerned about the fact that in this difficulty to retain good teachers in the city systems, that the teacher in some instances had the right or the opportunity to suggest where he might want to teach and that something had to be done in this area to keep the good teacher in the inner city system.

Any questions or clarification? Not discussion, there will be the opportunity for discussion after all the reports have been given. Any questions or clarification? None? Next reporter is Dr. Cornelius Golightly, member of the Milwaukee Board of Education. And he will report on cities which range from 799,000 to 600,000, some among these are Washington, St. Louis, Milwaukee, San Francisco, Boston, Indianapolis, New Orleans, Pittsburgh, and San Diego. Not all of these were represented, most were.

Our group concentrated on the concept of quality integrated education. Now, as you know, the Urban League conceived of quality integrated education as a concept or notion as being physically or imperically indivisable. The group I was in took the position that while the Urban League may have thought this being theoriticians, the practical people felt that not only was it logically, analytically divisible, it was also physically, imperical divisible and almost necessarily so, so that there was a tendency to think in terms of either quality-integrated education, integrated quality education depending upon not necessarily the size of the city, but upon the proportion or percentage of the Negro pupils that you had in a school system. For example, in the cities that would have a school system with a Negro population of say, 2,3,4 or 5% up to 25%, the problems there might - the problems there of integration might very well be __________ in a city with a school population - Negro school population of 25% up to 60%, you would have a very different kind of situation than with 5 or 6% Negro population, and in those cities with the Negro school population of 60% to 90%, some persons thought that it was realistic and common sense to think mainly in terms of quality education and the improvement of opportunities for Negro children in the schools that were segregated in fact. There was some discussion of Dr. Fisher's comment a one sentence or so statement that he made about __________ __________ to the fact that education is primarily the responsibility of the state, but there was a feeling that this had not been spelled out enough in detail to be of any use to us at the moment since it involves (complex) contract and legal questions of the extent to which the state might extend the school district line so as to make possible integrated education in the school system that would have say 80% or 90% Negro children in it. Now this brought up the question that it was not the problem of cities with 800,000 down to~~e~~ 600,000 in population, but was primarily a question of the proportion of Negro pupils and we were invaded by smaller cities that had large Negro populations, and they stated they wanted to be in there because they thought that their problems were like ours, and we succeeded in getting one group, Portland, to leave after discussing their problem briefly, but other cities did remain and one concrete suggestion was that ~~out of~~ at another conference we might divide not in terms of size of cities, but in terms of the proportion of Negro pupils that we have, that we had. That was the major thrust of our discussion. One other point did come in for some attention. This is the fact thatwhile we recognize the school principals, school superintendants, school administrators, school board presidents are very sensitive persons and although they had been warned earlier in the morning and in the luncheon meetings about not being sensitive and defensive, it was suggested that perhaps the Urban League officials should always bear in mind that although school board superintendants and school board presidents are tough minded they have very tender skin and that we should not lambast them publicly as hard as we did. Further, it was point out that while school adminstrators do like the hound of heaven, move with all deliberate speed, they still do move occasionally, and that credit is to be given for those who are trying to do something under extraordinary conditions. The whole focus, however, was constructive. I had the feeling that some of the cities with the greatest problems, the greatest difficulties, were not adequately represented and it was suggested then that perhaps there might be conferences much smaller than this located in regions that would be able to bring them in. The burden of the suggestion was also that whenever superintendants and board members are going to be lambasted in a future meeting that the speaker always start by saying, "Present company excepted." And in that case everyone here would feel virtuous enough to agree with the speaker.

I am concerned that we don't have the reporter for the smallest group, that is, the group from the smallest cities - Marion, Ohio, Englewood, Morristown, and Libertyville, Illinois, who in - Who in this group were in that session yesterday? May I see your hand? Is it possible for some one of you to be cooperative enough to volunteer - to come up and report for that group. You will be the last person to report, you will have plenty of time to prepare it. Any one of you? I first should ask whether the reporter is here. Would any one of you. All right. And when you do come up here please bring a chair. The third group is the group which consists of populations from 599,000 to 400,000 - Seattle, Buffalo, Cincinnati, Memphis, Denver, Atlanta, Minneapolis, Kansas City, Columbus, Phoenix and Newark. And reporting for that group is Nelson Nichols, the Executive Director of the Buffalo Urban League.

Ladies and gentlemen, we discussed four questions as were propounded by our chairman, one how does a community effect educational policy, two, what kind of community support is necessary to achieve integrated quality education, three, what role does the Urban League have in developing such support, and finally, what is a reasonably - a reasonable plan of action for the local communities. Since our group spent most of its time on item #3, what is the role of the Urban League, or what role does it have in developing such support as is needed to effect educationaly policies and to improve education both quality and integratio-wise, I will first devote my time to that. And I will try to skip anything that I have heard already and rush through this as fast as I can. The group was very productive and very fertile of ideas. The Urban League should not restrain from making technical recommendatins to educators, as for example, the National Teacher Vocational Plan, where the aim is to secure integrated quality education. The League should evaluate a school required to provide quality education even though it may not be as integrated as it should be. As for example, where a school is branded as inferior merely because 51% or more of its students is Negroes. Jim mentioned the next point so I will skip over it. The League must enable the school administration to keep in direct contact and communication with the Negro community, and if I might summarize the whole ~~row was - a whole row of the Urban Leaguers~~ role of the Urban League as conceived of in my group, it was that the League should be a sort of liason between the community and the school board and keep both sides informed by interpretation or otherwise as to the needs and desires and wishes and the actions of the other. They might well seek to enable the administration to integrate their adminstrative staff. The League should be available to the League - to the school administration when help is needed in many ways. The League should speak out and be heard on such educational policy problems as for example, teacher rotation, site location, building programs, and so forth, and upon all facets of education, even to the type of superintendant needed to fill a vacancy - a vacant post. The League should stand ready to give its reaction on school problems and matters in terms of what the Negro community wants even though this might not be pleasant for the administration to hear. Having access to administration records the League should gather needed information and feed it back to the administration in terms of community needs, nor should the administration feel defensive in such discussions. The League can and should enable the power block in the community to realize the complexity of (megalopolis) and inform the power people of what is needed financially and otherwise if the school is to carry out its job. Also, the thinking of the Negro community seldom reaches the power people who take action without this necessary information. The League can aid understanding in this area. Another role - the League may have a role in the area of providing creative tensions in saying the things that have to be said to those who ought to hear them, and telling the press how its reports are really being interpreted in the Negro community contrary to all expectation. The League should check with the administration before initiating its own educational program so that it might be educationally feasible and in harmony with the administration's program. Many comunity organizations that oppose integrated education speak out publicly on whatever the school board does. Does not the League, then, have a role to speak out publicly in support of school board actions, to counteract this negative publicity? The League could provide this needed support without cost. Again, the League has an obligation to promote integrated quality education by checking on such items as teacher-pupil ratio, space needs, and so forth, see that the teachers are good in the target areas, and that they are good to the pupils and to see that the current curricula meets the needs of the present society, and to bring to the school board the information and expertise needed to decide finally on various kinds of educational programs. Again, the League should strive to see that Negroes learn self-respect, self-pride even as in academic learning. And again, Jim touched on this but he touched on it from the standpoint of the community, here Our group thought this might be a role of the Urban League - to set up a kind of a task force that includes all community groups. This is done in other areas such as housing and health and welfare and the like, and would be effective in the enhancement of the educational process as well as a problem-solving technique. The aim would be to improve education not just for Negroes, but for all children. This would be a first step which this conference itself is an example. This is a role shared by all other community groups as well as by the League. Finally, the League has the role to bring the community into contact with the board of education for dialogue without the use of high-sounding phrases. Should I touch other areas? Do I have time? Well, first, how does the community effect educational policy? Well, in my group, the very fact that you have to place a school somewhere, site location, this is one way in which the type of community that you are in effects educational policy. The very existence of a poverty area in a school district effects teacher orientation. The very existence of a poverty area in any school district breeds a policy problem - I meant to say. Shall the board provide for teacher orientation to enable the teachers to handle some of the people from the target area, or should they provide principal orientations for the local school administrators, or should they arrange for a local or state college to do this orientation job. Many teachers believe that the Negro has a very limited capacity for learning. Many principals have low expectations for Negro pupils. Educational policy must aim at changing the hearts and minds of these people. Again, the nature of the community itself, for example, if it does have a poverty area within its school district, the very nature of the community can itself force, compell a policy decision on whether to inaugarate a system of rotation of teachers. Well, I'll stop there.

We met this morning and in an effort to feed back to you a kind of report which would not be the 'Me, Too ________' variety, we decided to focus in each case on that which was most significant - the most significant aspect of the discussion, not omitting mention of the others, but indicating very briefly that other issues were also discussed. And this was why he asked whether he should continue because there were other areas obviously which his group discussed. We may have enough time for a quick second round for those who have important sections to add, and I cut them off. The next group is the group, population 399,000 to 300,000, group 5, Louisville, Kentucky; Portland, Oregon,; Oakland, California; Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; Rochester, New York; St. Paul, Minnesota; and Omeha, Nebraska. And reporting for that group, group 5, is Jack Harker, Superintendant of Schools, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

If I exhibit any hostility it is because I was selected for this job most undemocratically and (everyone else, too). The emphasis of our group yesterday afternoon seemed to be in the direction of specific approaches to teaching so that quality education would result. There seemed to be general acceptance of the notion that integration and quality education are related. It was pointed out, I think, earlier in the discussion, that there can't, of course, be integration, without there necessarily being equlity following integration (quality following integration). So, consequently we devoted a good deal of time to the matter of how one provides instruction to the students who fall into these categories of being disadvantaged and being members of minority groups so that the quality of education would be such that they can overcome their handicaps and they can come into the mainstream of the society. The factors that are involved in most of the cities of this size were brought out as problems. For example, the ring around the central city of ~~surban~~ suburban school districts, pointed out that so long as there is selectivity on the part of people that people are going to select places to live and places to send their children to school where they believe quality is high. This led to a discussion of the attitudes of people and how it is possible, perhaps, to convince people that quality in education is not only possible but probable in integrated situations. There was discussion of the problm of getting across to people that the entrance of a number of low achievers in a school does not necessarily mean that the high achievers do decline in their ability to succeed in school work. We had a good deal of discussion about the problem of individualizing instruction. This is not a new kind of discussion in any educational group. It was pointed out by our chairman that we perhaps as a nation had done more talking about individualizing instruction and less actual doing than most anything else we talk about. There was indication that special effort ought to be made with teachers to help them learn how to deal with the problems that they faced in the inner city, in the target areas. There was quite a good deal of discussion about the fact that busing and other kinds of things that are often done in school systems, and this related to the fact that integration does not necessarily lead to quality, that a lot of these things mean very little unless there is a teacher who can carry out a program in the classroom that is the type that meets the needs of the pupils she deals with. There was also discussion of a number - there was some testimony from some different cities about programs that have been carried out. There was one city reporting a program where they had used Title I funds for transporting Negro pupils to various areas within the school district so that there would be an integrated situation. It was pointed out that where there is selective integration on the basis that this city reported, that thereis almost no problem so far as the middle and upper class white parents are concerned and so far as the quality of the schools is concerned. This was pointed out as one of the important factors in achieving a situation where integration and quality are definitely seen as being related. There was some discussion of parent education, home visitation, that type of thing, much of the blame for some of the problems began to be placed on shoulders of teachers as is often the case in many meetings of this type, but the teachers had their defenders in the group and some came to the front, not to the front, but came out to say that teachers by and large are good, that there are many that are poor, that typically we should think of teachers as technicians and that what we need to do is to help teachers acquire the techniques that are needed in order to be able to deal with these special kinds of problems. I suppose as - in summarizing the entire session and this was done by our chairman and so I am really reporting how she summarized it, she indicated that it seemed that there was a consensus in the group that ~~education is~~ integrated education is not only necessary for the minority - lower class minority groups, but also, of course, necessary for the middle and upper class majority groups. That to arrive at meaningful quality we have to look at all kinds of quality within the whole spectrum of education, and each group has to be examined in terms of what it needs and then there has to be approaches developed so that their needs can be met. Then it was also pointed out in the summary that teachers can be helped by some things in their preparation programs, who had perhaps some greater background in anthropology and other areas, but again, that they needed to be given specific opportunities to develop techniques so that they can perform as effective and expert teachers in these situations.

the need for high expectation in pupils was pointed out as a theme for the discussion and, finally, of course, it was emphasized the individualizing instruction however it is done is necessary in order for it to have quality. Thank you.

Evidently the chairmen were divining which persons would report crisply, would obey the discipline of the five or six minute limit, and Superintendant Parker didn't permit his hostility at being dragooned to upset the quality of his performance.
Is there any question at this time. I realize that you sit there and you get one statement after another and after a while your head begins to nod and your eyes begin to get shadowy. If you want to raise a question -

Inaudible statement

That is not a question. That is an issue. Well, we have 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 more to report and hopefully someone will cover that but if they don't then during the discussion period I would urge you very strongly to raise that point. If you don't I will sit on you.

Inaudible statement or question.

Come up to the microphone.

This was brought out by - this was not invented by me at all - I am a superintendant and I am thin skinned - We had a board member I believe from Portland who pointed out - he was asking about the term 'selective integration' and they were speaking at a program that they have in that city - I wasn't going to identify the city but since this question was brought up I will, where Negro students are transported to various schools throughout the Portland districts or various parts of the Portland districts as I understood it, and this was pointed out as being a selective type of integration. With - would one of you from Portland - I see the Superintendant sitting back there, or a board member like to elaborate as to what selective integration refers to. I believe that is where I did hear the term isn't it?

Would you come up here, there is a microphone -

(Inaudible)

You would prefer to wait? All right. Good enough. Thank you. There will be people here who will not permit us to forget it. The next group of cities, let's see, we switch over now to - that's your direction, isn't it - instead of giving the population let me read the cities, I think it would probably make more sense.

Flint, Michigan; Grand Rapids, Michigan; Gary, Indiana; Springfield, Massachusetts; Hartford, Connecticut; Fort Wayne, Indiana; New Haven, Connecticut. And reporting for that group, Group 1, Lester Grouse, Superintendant, Fort Wayne, Indiana Community Schools.

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I hope that those that were in Group 1 recognized their meeting. In our group there were three general statements that remained unchallenged. It seems logical and safe to conclude from this fact that they were acceptable conclusions of the participants. One - every child has a right to succeed. And achool board members and school administrators have a responsibility to help create the conditions which make this possible. Two - attention to civil rights has also focused attention on poverty and integration. Two of the main reasons for the existing lag in education. Three - ways need to be found to reduce the gap which now exists at the beginning of school and in too many cases widened during the time in school. The discussion centered around five topics, and for each topic it seemed that the group found related questions for which no one seemed to or claimed to have the answer. One - while some recognize strengths and advantages of the neighborhood schools as an educational factor there was recognition of its limitations in the present urban study. And then there was this related question. Can and/or how does the city school catch up with the surburban school. #2 - there needs to be realistic goals which can be identified as short term and long term goals. And this question - does it take a different kind of education to solve the problems which we face? How do we plan for changes which will facility orderly, but effective, programs? The third topic - the housing problem is a major contributing factor to our problem and these questions - what are the responsibilities of a board of education which regards - with regards to open housing? And how does the board meet these responsibilities. To what extent and how does the board of education become involved in open housing? Four - there is a need for better and special trained teachers and a need for realistic looks at the class size for this teacher. How do we secure better cooperation between teacher training institutions and the urban centers which have these needs? And finally, #5, there is a need for more realistic experimentation to find ways to solve our problems. While we recognize there if federal money available for this purpose and with all due respect to my friends from Flint, Michigan, I thought I heard this final question. How does every school corporation find a (Mott) foundation? Our discussion closed with this final point. There is a need for rethinking of budget preparation. There must be public comittment to help see that money is available and that it goes where it is needed.

For the benefit of those who didn't understand the allusion to the (Mott) Foundation, though I suspect that there are few here who wouldn't - this is a foundation that has given, I believe, $50,000,000 to Flint, Michigan for its schools, or some such ungodly sum. That floor flurrey that occurred before discombobulated your chairman and I inadvertently skipped over the man to my immediate right who should have been called upon before you, and I do apologize. I want now to call on Carliss Atwater, President of the Akron Urban League, to report for his Group 4, the cities being Miami, Florida; Akron, Ohio; Daton, Ohio; Tampa, Florida; Tulsa, Oklahoma; Witchataw, Kansas; Richmond, Virginia; Syracuse, New York; Providence, Rhode Island; and Jacksonville, Florida - quite a mixed batch.

The mixture of cities that we had in our session introduced quite a range of kinds of problems and kinds of approaches to those problems, the major theme of our discussion was improving the quality of public education, included the accomplishment of integration of student bodies and faculties. Now, there are a number of (complaints) (planks) under this theme that came up. #1, of course, the traditional concept of the neighborhood school and its long established boundaries continues as a deterent to integration. Integration of public schools at this time in many cities deter (spurs) the exodus of white families to the suburbs or to send its children to private or parochial schools. Federal funds used to improve education in low income areas may perpetuate segregation by making these kinds of schools more attractive and there was quite a bit of discussion here as to making sure first of all that you get the money that you are entitled to and then working up the plans within the government regulation. School administrators feel that the saleability of any new ideas of programs is a problem for them with the variety of communities that we had here each community has its own distinctive public education situation and that specific generalities on this subject or on any subject in education in extremely difficult. New concepts in education such as the educational park, in spite of their mamoth complications deserve further exploration and activation. In spite of all these complications and problems our group finally did come with, I believe, some fine recommendations. First, school administrators must include a commitment to genuine integration as vital to their commitment to improve public education. Improvement in the quality of education must go on in all phases - faculty, curriculum, facilities, materials, programs. We had a school superintendant who was quite concerned that he had just approved funds for a new school in a Negro community and he was sincerely questioning whether he had done the right thing, whether he was going to impede the process of integration while he was improving the quality of education, and I think the final consensus of the group was - Yes, go ahead and build the school, but don't forget about your other commitment. Explore the metropolitanization of school districts, rather than having them fixed by political boundaries. Continue progress in making, in cancelling out the housing patterns that exist now. Innovate the new concepts. Educational parks, transportation, and so forth. Effectively utilize federal funds. Urban League officials should actively participate in improving their local education program. Thank you.

This group was Group 4, and consisted of Miami, Florida; Akron, Ohio; Dayton, Ohio; Tampa, Florida; Tulsa, Oklahoma; Witchitaw, Kansas; Richmond, Virginia; Syracuse, New York; Providence, Rhode Island; and Jacksonville, Florida. When I read you the names of these cities, obviously, I do not know whether all of these were represented in the group. Were they?

I don't recall anyone from Tampa being there.

Mr. Atwater does not recall anyone from Tampa being there. Was there anyone from Tampa present? Yes, there was. Next group is Group 3 and the following cities: South Bend, Indiana; Canton, Ohio; Winston Salem, North Carolina; Little Rock, Arkansas; Lansing, Michigan; Elizabeth, New Jersey; Peoria, Illinois; and San Bernadino, California. And reporting for group 3 will be Frank Campbell, the Executive Director of the Peoria Urban League.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. In our discussion yesterday I am quite certain as I listened to the other speakers that we covered many of the areas that have been discussed already. So that I am going to limit my remarks to those areas that, perhaps, have not a been discussed already. One ofthe areas that we devoted considerable attention to was the question of the role of the Urban League and just what should it be in working with local boards of education? I think there was some consensus that the League's role should be on of interpreting the issues and alerting the boards of education to problem areas rather than attempting to dictate a specific solution, for example, in the area, the use of textbooks, it was generally agreed that the League was not a expert on the selection of textbooks, but that we should call it to the attention of the board that if their textbooks are outdated they should do something about them. And the same was true in the area of recruiting and selecting professional personnel, that while we should forcefully and in any way we saw fit call it to the attention of the boards of education that they do not employ Negro personnel we should not dictate that hiring of specific personnel or saying the they should teach at school X as opposed to school Y. I think there was some consensus in that particular area. The next area that we discussed was this area of social relationships in schools that have been desegregated, or in schools where de fact segregation has been eliminated and where we move into a situation of integrated education. Very frankly, I suspect prior to going to this meetingthat this question would be raised by some of the southern participants, however, while it may have been raised by the southern participants, the northern participants find considerable difficulty in giving what I would consider suitable answers to this problem. There was some consenses though that if we simply leave the young people alone that they would have a ball doing the twist and the watusi if the old folks would stay at home and leave them alone. There was some feeling that perhaps we should cancel the affair, and one participant said it wasn't enough to cancel an affair where there was going to be social relationships particularly we were talking about dances, but should

you

you cancel an affair there should be plans and contingencies laid so that the next time the situation develops you will not have to cancel it. I think we allagree that in general, boards of education have tended to avoid this situation, that they have not issued any policy guidelines decisions on this. Another area of concern that we discussed was this question of who represents the Negro, and one board of education apparently had had representatives from the Urban League, the NAA and Core and Snick and the local preachers, and I suspect they were not sure as to who they should listen to, but certainly they had to pay attention because without Negroes they said they couldn't get ___________ (passed), because they want to listen, and someone suggest that that the civil rights movement was a pluralistic in nature rather than monolithic so that no one civil rights group represented the general - well, represented all the Negroes in the community as - well, say the American Legion or some of the other groups, or the John Birchers represent all the white people in the community. And then we, well we hope not, (Laughter), and finally, Mr. Chairman, we got into an area where I suspect many of our participant would have preferred to just forget, and this is the question of integrated quality education. I am happy to report that some of the participants had taken action to eliminate de facto school segreation in their area and there was some rather well laid plans. I recall, in one community the way they eliminated the Negro school was that it caught on fire. (Laughter) However, Mr. Chairman, knowing the way that many Negroes feel about their school I wouldn't be surprized if some Negro didn't set their school afire. Some delegates suggested that many Negroes resisted the efforts to close the schools in their area because of the transportation involved, and I am going to conclude here on some recommendations that this group made, and I think they were rather significant. One was that the local Urban Leagues and board of education should jointly apply for financial assistance from state and federal governments to assist in the process of eliminating de facto segregation and the other was that the National Urban League should take (a) the leadership role in working with other organizations to develop pilot programs on integrated schools. I suspect they were suggesting that the League develop some laboratory situations which other areas could at least study. And finally, a recommendation was that the local Urban Leagues should develop parent education programs designed to prevent the development of other ghetto schools in their area and I thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I gathered from your response that most of the white folk here didn't want to be represented either by the Legion or by the Birchers. I assume that you are proposing that their name be changed from John to White Birchers. The next group, Racine, Wisconsin; Springfield, Illinois; Springfield, Ohio; Pontiac, Michigan; Warren, Ohio; White Plains, New York - this is group 6, and the reporter is Mrs. Evelyn Golden, President of the Urban League for the Battle Creek, Michigan board. I understand that is a new League, is that right?

Mr. Chairman, and ladies and gentlemen, in our group the school administrators realized their responsibilities to provide quality integrated education, but they were also cognizant of the realities of the situation which present problems that cannot be oversimplified. The present structure of the control of schools presents the easy transition to a new social order, so emphasis was given in our group to the dilemma in which school administrators feel that they find themselves. There were specific suggestions given for things that boards of education can do and things that the Urban League can do. What can borads of education do? #1, Make a public commitment of their conviction that de facto segregation must be eliminated from American public education. #2, Set the climate for the community. #3, Participate in other areas of the community. A diligent effort must be made in housing and job development. The hosuing problem must be solved. #4, Improve quality education by encouraging capable teachers to teach five years in depressed areas before returning to normal ones.

What are the things that the Urban Leagues can do? 1, take responsibility to acquaint the board and administrator with the needs. 2, make their resources available to the community, organize citizens committees is one example. 3, establish relations with the board of education members, include members on the Urban League board. There was one city present which had two board of education members on the Urban League board and they felt that this tended to establish and excellent relationship. 4, make their voices heard in parent-teacher groups. 5, assist in the in-service training of teachers and 6, give recognition to outstanding teachers. In the conclusion of the group, two resolutions were made which we would like to read at this time and submit to you. Whereas the positions of national organizations involving school boards, school superintendants, teachers and parents has not adequately presented the fact regarding quality integrated education and whereas the evidence regarding the damaging consequences of the all Negro schools upon the children are universally clear, and whereas the evidance revealed that the longer a child remains in such a school the poorer his competitive position becomes in every intellectual and academic area, be it resolved that this conference formally requests each of the appropriate organizations to publicly adopt and persistently state its conviction that de facto segregated schools must be eliminated from American public education. Whereas the school administrators conference believes that immeasurable benefits have been derived from this convocation and whereas we recognize that the 76 cities here represented comprise only a small portion of our entire school population, be it resolved that the Natioanl Urban League shall direct and plan that similar conferences be convened in the near future in each geographical district in which the Urban League regions are now divided and that all cities in such districts be asked to participate.

Thank you. You will have an opportunity to discuss the resolution when we begin the discussion period which should be shortly. The last, but one - I still have no one from Group 10, and - pardon? ________________ Well, I thought so but it apparently went for some other purpose, not to - unless I am wrong - was that person who stood up the one - Pittsburgh?, well he went for something more ___________. Uh, may I appeal to those of you, Marion, Ohio; Masseline, Ohio; Englewood, New Jersey; Morristown, New Jersey; and Libertyville, Illinois. Is there anyone? Would you mind bringing a chair up and coming on up? There will be one before you and then I will be calling on you. The next to the last group, Champagne, Illinois; Anderson, Indiana, Muskeegan, Michigan; Elcart, Indiana; New Brunswick, New Jersy; and Lancaster, Pennsylvania. The report of this Group 8 is Manuel Romero, Nation Coordinator of the Human Resources Program of the National

Urban League.

We concerned ourselves with questions of commitment to change of change itself and of communication and collaboration and I guess when we talk about commitment it brings to mind the first spectre we were presented with of superintendants commited to change attempting to climb the mountain and being chased up the mountain. This, we felt, embodies the need for commitment by the Urban League to provide the necessary support, communication and cooperation to bring about quality integration. In addition, we concerned outselves with the need for change in the status quo, the need for change in what exists now, specifically the need for change in instructional material and teaching methods and the gentleman's point before, curriculum, the attitudes of those responsible for the education of children and lastly the motivation of children to learn. We found that there was, indeed, a range of cooperation manifested just within our little group. I guess it probably ranged from very close cooperation and communication to not having really talked at all. And we felt that this is necessary in terms of the close cooperation and on-goig communication between the Urban League, the board of education and school officials as they work out a master plan to effect positive change. We hoped that, as was said in the general session, this conference would serve as a catalist out of which this communication would emerge. There were five recommendations that we came up with and the first is that we attempt to make the invisible man much more visible in our instructional materials in a positive and constructive sense. Similar to some of the instructional materials we see here today. The seond is that there be special preparation for teachers to effectively reach the lower class youngsters, Negro or white. We had, in fact, present in our session a Negro teacher who has a predominately white class and some of the concerns about reaching youngsters were very much the same. The - it was also felt that quality integrated education must include specific instructions in positive interpersonal relationships. It was alsofelt that there should be regular cooperation between the Urban League and boards of education in the development of demonstration programs to improve the qulaity of education. And I think, perhaps, one of the most imaginative examples we had of the cooperation and communication between the Urban League and the school superintendants was where there was genuine concern about the fact that youngsters were being sent to industry in the community and one after another were failing the screening tests, and the school superintendant used the resources of the school to analyze the test and to point out that it was indeed stacked and to take the initiative together with the Urban League executive to approach the industry and, in fact, eliminate this test. Now, this is the kind of cooperation and communication that we are talking about. Finally, there is the need, as we see it, to strive for the increased reliability of findings by the board of education throughthe Urban League cooperating with the various educational systems with research projects. Thank you.

Now, we are ready with the last group report, that for the communities which I read out to you several times. Marion, Indiana; Masseline, Ohio; Englewood, New Jersey; Morristown, New Jersey and Libertyville, Illinois. David Wilson, Executive Director of the Masseline Urban League has volunteered to make the report for that group.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I was in the Army for a long time and I always got the thing about - You are the one who volunteers.

George,this is genuine, though. You did.

Well, my constituent, Mr. Desmond, was going to look for the recorder, and he called me in the back and he said if I don't make it back, Dave, would you get up and do it, so I knew right then and there he wasn't going to make it back. (Laughter)

So I stand before you nervous, scared to death, and I hope I have got this thing right because I was doing more arguing than note taking. I think primarily the things - most of the things that we talked about have been covered by the previous groups. However, I do think that there were a couple of very significant things that came out of our session. We had one school board president who indicated that he had a concern for quality - well, maybe I should preface it by saying this. We got into the hassel of - what is integrated quality education? And, of course, we never did come up with a definition, but we did come up with a number of ingredients that we thought were a very necessary part to developing a definition. We didn't get the definition, but the ingredients - one was his concern for integrated quality education in terms of the total school population and he was thinking about that white youngster. What is quality education for him. And he was very kind to tell us that his school system will soon be integrated because they have one six month old Negro who will be entering the school at some future date, so that will integrate that school system, but he was concerned about quality education for just white students. We have concerned outselves with the minority student and I think we have sometimes overlooked that the white student has to be taken into consideration, too, and it has often been said by our leaders that this white youngster has to learn to live in this multiracial complex of America that we have, so I think that we have to find some additional ingredients for quality education. End of that part of the report. We suggested, and it was strongly accepted, by the group, that there should be intentive (incentive) measures instituted by school boards to encourage good teachers to do the kind of teaching thatis going to be necessary in depressed areas. I sort of take exception to disadvantaged students because I really don't know what the word means, but in depressed areas I do think that this was an excellent suggestion. Of course, there was some concern about those teachers who refuse to conform or change to the patterns that have become a part of the systme. This was also suggested as a method of phasing them out. There are many who would not necessarily have to be pahsed out, who would probably change their very definite views by looking at a few more greenbacks. We find that this does change. Finally, I think that the consensus of the total group emerged that the prioity consideration on the part of school boards, concerned civic organizations and individuals, was the development of a dialogue and techniques to affect attitudinal changes in the community and across the community line, and they felt that this was where the Urban League might play a very important role as a bridge to that segment of the community that does not always quite understand what school board policies and aims are and we would represent the interpretive group to do this. Thank you.

I hope you agree with me that this group has really aquitted itself magnificently. There wasn't an irrelevent comment made and no one was serving his own need to have a platform rise beneath his feet. I want to salute you. (Applause). And I am especially greatful to the volunteer who aquitted himself nobly on such short notice. It was whispered to me that he must know about volunteering since he is a Colonel in the Reserves, and he was probaly referring to that practice when he came up here. Before we go on to the general discussion, I have been asked to mention the book exhibit in the foyer. Those are four or five book publishers who are beginning to develop a series of multiethnic textbooks and they - and the organizers of the conference, both the Urban League and Teachers College, would like to recommend your examining the offering which are on the tables when you leave this room at the end of this session. Now that I have thanked the group, I can very gracefully, I hope, renege on my promise that I woid allow you to have a second round and let's turn to the audience first and if there is any time perhaps we can come back. All right? Let us go back to the gentleman who raised the question concerning teacher training. Would you care to get up and speak into the microphone - may I make this suggestion? Your name and identification so that it may be recorded on the tape.

(Emerson), from Kansas City. My question was - since many of the teachers are now taking courses for five years to get a degree, and a number are antiquated courses in method, that some of them be required to take urban sociology, anthropology or something relating to urban education. Now, the headstart program, the evaluational studies that have been coming out of that prove some things - that you are dealing with a different product, and also the teachers aids that have been assigned to classrooms in comparison to other classrooms, the job that they are doing ~~is~~ - is there something to be taught by trainees and by the various programs. Now just -

(End of Tape 1)

TAPE #2 - 6/18/66

. . . . . . something to be taught by the trainees and by the various programs, and just one little incident, the - in the Headstart program in Kansas City, a little child was given a piece of soap to wash her face and she started eating it. She hadn't seen soap before. And some of the volunteers from some of the middle class and upper class groups couldn't quite understand until they worked in the Headstart program just what the problems are. And I think that the teachers should become realistic on this too because every Urban Leaguers here has had an opportunity, I believe, to talk to teachers' classes - you know, when teachers get tired of teaching they call an Urban League executive to come out and talk to them about urban problems.

Anyone on the panel - did any of your sessions deal with this problem of teacher training focusing specifically on the need to expose teachers to urban sociology? Anyone?

Our group did discuss this, not in detail nor did we find an answer, but I think it was the feeling in our group that more and more urban school systems must become active and more active in in-service training programs and that perhaps as a practical educator we are not going to change the colleges at this point. ~~Is there~~

Is there anyone in the audience who would like to comment on it? Would you care to? Would you come up and identify yourself?

I am Joseph Vann, Superintendant of School in Buffalo. I am not an organizer of the conference, but we did mention this, at least I did, in our group. And I went further. Isaid that we do have some concern and have had for some time about the orientation of teachers to urban problems, but I think we have got to make an effort to orient the administrators - principals, assistant principals, superintendants - to this problem, too. We assume that administrators know all these things that we - but we don't, necessarily. And I think that we have got to go beyond just orienting the teacher. We have got to orient the administrators as well.

Anyone else care to comment on that question? You stay there and he will bring the mike to you.

The gentleman up on the podium there said that as a practical administrator - I am William Licten, New Haven , Urban League - The gentleman on the podium felt that it was impractical to involve the colleges and I think that is being a bit pessimistic. It can be done. Practical administrators can do it. In New Haven we have students from Southern Connecticut State College which is our state teachers college coming into our schools as volunteers to help in tutording programs and we have a regular program set up in one of our inner city schools in which it is integrated with their courses at this school, so that these students are getting experience and know-how about teaching in inner city schools. Furthermore, it is possible to have an aggressive program going out and trying to get teaching interns to come into your schools. You have got to go out and work at it. The people who are young and who are going to school are the ones that are most flexible. It is much easier to change them than it is to change a teacher with 30 years teaching experience. So you have got to go after these kids to get them.

Well, I think if I didn't misunderstand Mr. (Grile), he was reacting to what has been the most frequently employed ploy, you know, if you want a problem you say, let the teachers college do it and therefore, by saying that you arrange so that the school systems no longer have a continuing responsibility. Would you want to - I thought that is what I heard. He wasn't saying they can't do it, he was saying if we let them do it it will be too late. We have to do it ourselves, right now.

I am Joe Hall, Superintendant of the County Schools, Miami, Florida. I want to make this general kind of statement that in the operation of these various programs it has become very evident, I think, to all of us in urban communities that the summers programs that we have been running are very excellent indeed and contribute a lot which makes me say in connection with this problem that probably all of us ought to take a look at the occupational year of our personnel and perhaps a longer school year for all employees, redeployed in a different way, part of itutilizes in these very important in-service training programs,might contribute more than any other one thing that we could do for education. Certainly, if all of our teachers who are getting out of college and who are to become teachers next September in our schools, if they could be fully employed during this summer in these various projects it would contribute more to education, I think, than possibly any other one thing we could do.

Director
My name is Jay Westbrook, Executive/of the Urban League in Boston. And for those of you who know me I want to set you at ease by telling you that I am not going to make a speech. However, I do have to make a statement or two to preface the recommendation that I think that might come out of this conference on something

that we can do.

I am going to hold you to your promise.

Now, in Boston I guess the biggest disgrace, and indefensable disgrace, is that in a school system, the first in the nation, some probably 330 years old, first public school system, desegregated over 100 years ago, and we do not now nor have we ever had a Negro school principal. Now, I am not unmindful of the fact of what is being done and we may get one in the foreseeable future, but I think for Boston and some of our other cities that is not enough at this late date. I don't know why any school system represented here cannot hire a Negro at the superintendancy level. And I would like to draw a parallel of this between this question with our educational problem and the employment problem vis a vis of the Urban League. About 20 years ago when we started talking about seriously about getting away from what we now recognize tokenism employment and the employers start listening the National Urban League got some money from somewhere, I guess it was the Rockefeller Foundation somewhere, and started a pilot placement project. The purpose of this project which succeeded incidently was to place Negroes in the technical-managerial and professional levels of business and industry of the nation to help solve some of these problems so that Negroes became a part of the solution rather than just being a part of the problem. Now, Ithink we need to do the same thing in our school systems across the country. There are Negro educators, maybe not in your town, but across this land, who could qualify for very important and responsible positions at the superintendancy level. And I think that if we take advantage of these resources we would accomplish several important objectives that I don't think I need to spell out to you. In the first place, it would be the obvious expression of good intent. The second place, you would get the brains and some of the know-how that you are talking about here - how arewe going to give school administrators the best way to do it is to get people who have got to teach you these things and put them inthere and let them teach your whole staff and so on. And so I won't elaborate further except to say that I believe that if we put our minds to it and accept as a recommendation or a resolution or commitment out of the conference to do just this when we get back home, I believe that every school board and school system represented here this morning can find a way to do that.

I am sorry that I have to point at you. I can't read your name.

Mrs. Gosser My name is Mrs. Gosser, and I am the President of the Urban League in Greater Miami. Dr. Joseph Hall has been most cooperative as a superintendant of the schools that I know. I have been working with him now for 30 years, and recently we in Miami had what we call a job fair in which all the vocational guidance teachers of all the Negro junior high schools and senior high schools and the ________ junior college were called together and we had 37 national employers from industries and 7 governmental agencies which came together and this job fair was held at the Miami Senior High School. Now, this was cooperating with with the schools throught the Local Urban League in which we were working together in which 80 children, 80 Negro youngsters who might have been on the streets, gained employment. Other applications were sought and they would be employed and they will qualify. The dignity, the behavior and how well dressed these youngsters came and attended, how eager they were to come, did not - we provided buses, but they were so eager to get the job that they were there at the school before 8 o'clock eagerly waiting and there were hundreds there and we feel that we are working together and this is the way that it should be done and that our school board is really and truly - our school superintendant most of all and our school board are trying to provide the quality integrated education, but there are problems in which there are de facto, where they are housing, they are living all together and the busing is a problem that we have to face and all of us have to be able to reach and change the attitudes of the Negro people as well as the white people because some of those Negro people refused to be bused to other areas as well as the whites refuse just the opposite. It is a changing of attitudes.

Thank you. Now I have three hands up. George is first. The gentlemen toward the rear is second, and you would be the third. Then I am going to have to switch to the other question - the question on selective integration which the Portland superintendant or school board president, I think it was superintendent promised to enlighten us about after the reports had been given.

Dr. John Alexander

I am Dr. John Alexander. I have been here better part of yesterday and part of today and I would like to ask the panel what the definition of quality education is because if we are going to have additional conferences I think we ought to be talking to a certain specific point. May I have an answer to the question as to what is quality education?

Any member of the panel? One of my colleagues says they are just recorders (reporters).

One way to answer the question is to say that like yellow, red, green and blue are clearly understood, self-evident. Well, quality education in a society such as ours is also felt clearly unterstood. We know the difference between what is good and what is bad and what is right and what is wrong and what is inferior and what is superior and most of us know what quality is. I hate to do this to the doctor, but I have been a philosophy professor for 25 years (Laughter)-

I am sorry. I realize it is a dead set-up for floor debate - would you just hold it and let me just call on the others and perhaps we will have time to let me come back to you. The gentleman in the rear of the house.

(Inaudible) . . . . (talking as he comes forward) . . . but I think it is salient -

Harold Fouts, Providence Urban League

What I would like to make a remark on is a more general concern of this conference. I was here yesterday and I listened to Mr. Wilkins, Mr. Young, Kenneth Clark, and I thought they were trying to communicate something to this audience. And what I think they tried to communicate is that school administrators - board members, superintendants, are being asked to do a new kind of job. And that is, not simply to administer the system, but to provide community leadership. Now that is very difficult as we all know. But you are not responsible for the mess we are in. The race problem. But someone has to communicate to the people in this country of the depth, the scale and the threat that the race problem presents to this democracy and to this nation. Now, I think that this is the real question that school administrators and boards have to ask themselves. You are not to blame, and maybe you can't do it, but the real challenge is, will you perform this additional function of leadership. When I say leadership here I simply mean who gets to define the problem and I think progress here in terms of your own work is always going to be indicated in terms of whether you are doing business as usual or not and the kind of problems this presents involves kind of creative innovations, new concepts, a lack of concern for traditional concepts, not doing business as usual. And unless we go back with this kind of question - we can't answer it here - I feel that the conference is kind of wasted, because there are all kinds of administrator problems with which you are familiar and expert, but this is a new kind of role. Thank you.

Would you bring the microphone back down here, please.

John Hope of the Equal Education Opportunity Program, Office of Education

I wanted to make an observation on the matter of the preparation of teachers to deal with this problem, teacher training, and simply observe that it would seem to us that the projects under Title IV should and are dealing with this problem. And since we do read many of your projects, and unfortunately I have about $3.00 of projects for every dollar that we can issue at the moment and it is still climbing. Just one or two observations on what we see might be valuable. One is that in some of theprojects you do include in your outline ways of dealing with the disadvantaged, ways of dealing with the problems of language, ways of dealing with the problems of prejudice. One of the things that we find frequently is that they don't jell and focus on the basic problem at hand and that is to facility desegregation. Some are overboard in urban sociology and we look in vain to see when they head into the main point, that is to help you as administrators and your teachers to actually desegregate next year. And I think the same thing applies - I think the implication has been here that changing gears on the part of teacher training schools and professors quickly is probably too much to be expected, but you as administrator faced with these problems and I might add with assistance, so that you can bring your teachers into in-service programs I think provides one important way to deal with this problem quickly and on an accelerated manner.

I believe that I must shift now to ask Portland to report to us. Who was going to speak for Portland? As you remember, this was the question concerning selective integration. Someone challenged just what was the meaning of the term.

John Beatty

Mr. Chairman, my name is John Beatty from the Board of Education. Somebody has claimed (coined) a phrase for me. I think I will just de-coin it right now. It seems to me that in this deal we are so full of mythology and so full of catch phrases that it doesn't contribute anything to add one more. In terms of the context of the discussion that we were having in our particular group, several problems were identified. One problem was that individuals parents attempt to select as our speaker pointed out a method of education for their children which they think is best irrespective of the movement or the flow of the social ideas of the moment. In other words, the parent has to be satisfied that his child is getting the best education that they think they can provide for it. Otherwise they move or shift or go into private schools. This is something we have to take into consideration. A second point was made with respect to the suburban ring around CORE cities. This is a common problem to all urban areas. It is one that is going to take a great deal of effort to deal with. An easy answer is to say to dissolve the ring. Create an even larger school district. These things can't be done magically and I think when I was doing or ~~sd~~ using the term selective I was referring to the fact that there is a great diversity. There are different types of problems in all school districts and that I think that it is a mistake to march off with a generalization and say we are gonna dissolve the suburaban school districts as a solution to the problems that we are talking about. I think we have to identify the problem in an attempt to find solutions that will make it easier and more natural for people to live with the kind of objective that we are going to get and thatis the way we will make progress.

Anyone else? Yes, I have you in mind, but I wanted to see whether or not the group was satisfied with the explanation. Yes? Is there a question on that?

Bob Blanchard

Bob Blanchard, Mt. Clair, New Jersey. In terms of the comment from the gentleman from the U. S. Office of Education. Ithink that one of the points that he highlighted is not only a problem of the responsive school systems in devoting energy and funds to doing the job, but it seems to me also is a point to me that ought to be and I think is being considered by the U. S. Office in terms of the degree to which so much of the funds presently available actually to some extent contribute to some forms of inaction on the parts of school systems. If one devotes Title I funds - and I realize the U. S. Office is only indirectly related to the EOA funds, but direct these massive efforts just to the improbement of educational circumatances involving lower income families without the kinds of incentives being provided by the federal government to move in alternative directions for a more long range approach to quality integrated education. This is also part of the problem.

Dr. Alexander, would you care to returen. Would you bring that microphone up here, please. Thank you.

Dr. Alexander

I omitted saying where I was from. I am Dr. Alexander, President of Orange, New Jersey's Board of Education and I would certainly feel with all the high-sounding pharses and words of good intent that we have heard yesterday and today that there - that it would certainly be amiss if this conference did not get down to a specific point and certainly with all of these educators from across the country somebody in this room must know what quality education is and can give us a specific definition. But in case there isn't I would certainly like to offer a suggestion that this conference at least address itself to one of its specific goals and I would suggest a resolution in order to ~~set forth~~ achieve the goal set forth at the outset of this conference, that this conference go on record (1) endorsing as its primary goal comprehensive quality education for all children that will prepare them to live and work in tomorrow's changing, automated society. Now I heard yesterday Mr. Young mention the fact that one of the basic problems of the Urban League has been when they approached employers that they were told that these young men and young women that they were trying to get jobs for were not adequately educated. Well, I would expect quality education then to mean that these children were being prepared to meet the standards set forth by industry so that ~~this~~ children then could enter the world of work prepared to get a job. I think there are other standards of education which will mean the children will move out of our schools into graduate education on community college levels, on the levels of post graduate technical education , as well as college education. Now, I would think that if we could identify here today what our specific goals are in regards to quality education and we can say to our local Urban Leagues - then let us have regional conferences and address ourselves to this point. The second part of the resolution, that all gerrymanders and other forms of (de jur) segregation be eliminated immediately. We can do this tomorrow. And _________ solutions be thought to overcome de facto segregation. (3) That all local Urban League affiliates call local conferences to which will be invited local boards of education, school administrators, the local power blocs, whoever they may be, religious groups, other interested groups, plus individual citizens from the community and I attend all of these educational conferences with all the spokesmen from the people but I never see the people. And last, I would suggest that we include in our communications between boards of education, people from disadvantaged neighborhoods. There is a place in our schools for parents of disadvantaged children, and I think as soon as we open our doors and include the community in our schools we will see an immediate change. And if this conference would kindly address itself to what its goal is going to be, I would certain for one appreciate this fact. Thank you.

Frank Stanley saved me from Mr. Heineman's fate when in Washington he had to allow for legislative action for what was supposed to be a discussion meeting. Frank informs me that there is a time for the consideration of resolutions and that is this afternoon's session, that if you would care to present the document as written or if you would want to ~~many~~ maybe rewrite it, to one of the secretaries in the rear, it will be considered this afternoon. There were two hands that went up in response to your challenge to the group for someone to define quality education for you. And it was rather interesting that your next door neighbor from East Orange, the Superintendant from East Orange, was the first hand and then the next one was Sam Brownell from Detroit. I think we will have time for just those two comments and then we will have to move on. Would you bring the microphone up to the middle there?

Robert Sizer

I am Robert Sizer, Superintendant of the School in East Orange, and I think it might be at the risk of being accused of having a vested interest, I would like to say a few things that I think we might do as intermediate steps. I think it wouldn't be a bad idea for this group to follow the recommendations of the White House Conference in the establishment of a demonstration center somewhere in urban education and perhaps in education park. There are not as many solutions to the problem as there are people. I think this would allow us to start fresh. I think it would allow us to see what some of these new concepts would do and I think it would prevent the need of travelling 2500 miles to see 100 ideas in 100 places and at the same time it would have something for those of us who are grasping so hard to have something to point to and it can be a demonstration center in a laboratory, materials and procedures and teacher training techniques in the academic area as well as pre-employment areas and I think until we do this or something like it we really don't know what we are taling about because we have to assemble what we believe to be quality integrated education into a set certain area and then give it some money, give it some push, give it some leadership, and then analyze it.

Would you bring the microphone down to Dr. Brownell here?

am Brownell

I am Sam Brownell of Detroit, a lame duck superintendant, just about to leave there, but I want to say this in reference to the conference here on quality education. Quality education is something that all of us are striving for and none of us have, I hope, becasue I think that anybody who has been in education over a period of time recognizes that the reason he is in education whether as a board member or superintendant or community organization like the Urban League is that we are not satisfied with the education and the only way we can make progress is because we aren't satisfied and think we can do better, thank God. I don't think we will ever get it defined as to what it is because education is -

covers so many things. And I was brought up with the belief that schools were established to assist parent in bringing up their children and I still think that is true, but there are just many more things, many more helps that parents need to have today and part of it is in this question of getting integrated education because a lot of them aren't sure that that is what they want, they are afraid of it. And I think this is a place where the schools can be helpful and where the Urban League has been and can be. This leads me to my second point which hasn't been brought up yet, but I think it is terribly important. And that is that it isn't enough to start something. You gotta carry it through. It is much more interesting and exciting to start something than it is to have the sticktoitiveness to carry it through over a period of time. And education is a long process that starts in with a child when he is born and goes on through as we know now through his adult years. And I think one of the great things that the Urban League can do in supporting improved education is to support the things that are started and see that they can be carried on until they are effected in our school systems. Because some fo the school systmes here, many of the school systmes here have started and been trying out ways and means of providing improved quality in education, and improved greater integration, but to the extent that they are effective, it will depend upon whether they stick to it over a period of time. This doesn't mean that they won't have to be innovating in developing new things each year, but if they spend there time and energy on the new things and forget that it may take a long period of time to carry out these things that were started a few years ago, the effectiveness of the school system and the quality of the education is going to be reduced. One other point I would like to make in connection with this which I think again we haven't given as much attention as I think might be desirable, is the fact that we are talking about school education as part of total community education. And I am concerned a bit as I observe the attempts that are being made in our school system and others to increase integrated education, is that we are not getting the total education of the child integrated. Not as much as we need in our community. We have talked about housing, but there are a lot of other ways in which our young people get their education and if we get as much integrated education inthe schools as we want by all of our efforts and devices, and the children then leave the school and go into a community where the rest of their education is not integrated we may be developing attitudes on the part of youngsters that integration is all right in school but that is where it stops. And I would hope thatin our attempt at quality integrated education, organizations such as the Urban League would be effective in the rest of the educational opportunities within the community to see that when pupils leave school they also get integrated education in that part of their educational opportunity. I mention -

Thank you. At this point we are going to have another report that will last about 10 or 15 minutes and then we will take about five minutes for some important instructions tothe total group and we will adjourn the session on time or pretty near it. Cernoria Johnson is listed on your program to flavor the Special Interest Meetings or rather to extract the flavor, her ~~person flavor of these~~ personal flavor, of each of these Special Interest Meetings, and then give you reports now. She is ill, I understand, and Henry Calvert, the Western Regional Representative of the National Urban League, is going to give you the report in her place. Henry.

Henry Calvert

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. Ladies and gentlemen, a sense of urgency sort of pervaded the discussions last evening when eight groups met to sort of focus on things that were very close to them and I think I can best reflect this concern by telling the story of the going on of a recent flood when the family of one household found themselves up on the roof of their house and they saw the swirling waters and there was a great deal of apprehention. Finally one thing attracted the eye of one of the children in the family. She saw a straw hat sort of floating down a few feet and then back the other way and then down and then back and so she asked her mother, "Look at that strange sight. What does that mean, Mom?" And her mother said, "Well, that is your pa out there. He said he was going to mow the lawn come hell or high water." So I think last evening there was this great sense of urgency reflected in the various discussion groups. The first one had to do with new educational approaches and I think right significant at the outset was the fact that one superintendant from a school in the deep South indicated that they had done some integration in 1954. Another superintendant from one of the northern states indicated that their master plan for integration was to be effected as of Septermber, 1966. The central theme of the discussion was, however, the focus on the individual students, rather than facilities and things of that nature that represent more the material approach to education. There was discussion about the comprehensive, about the specialized, about the (magnet) type of school situation, but each of these seemed to have some drawbacks primarily because some tended to perpetuate the idea of the neighborhood school because of the geographic limitations. There were five specific suggestions advanced by the group, one being that resource teachers ought to be engaged by school systems, this is in contrast to the masters teacher, wherein this person would have as a part of his or her arsenal a variety of creative tools that could be fed to the other teachers thereby exciting the person as well as giving new emphasis to greater learning activity. With regard to teacher

teacher training there was the feeling that teachers fall in the trap that often is set for them in the teacher training institutions by talking and the feeling was that some of the talk should be minimized and opportunity for more practical experiences made available to the teacher trainees. With regard to secondary education there was the obvious discussion of the tracking system and the inclination on the part of some to move away from this scheme in the educational process. There was continually the stress on more personalized teacher-pupil relationships with the emphasis being on quality rather than the frequency of contact, with intellectual exchange being held out as the motivating force. This group also talked about the location of schools around special interests so that I think the allusion was made to the biological sciences. Persons who would represent a variety of skills, a variety of backgrounds in terms of their capacity for learning might be assembled around this broad curricular entity and could at their own speed and according to their own peculiar interests profit from a school system of this nature. Also, the business of part of the audio-visual programs, where a person might talk into tapes and in hearing their voices and being able to contrast that with other voices get a new concept that would help them distinguish the cultural levels. In the second group it was quite apparent that protest as a force is not on the way out yet. However, the focus was not so much on the various types of protests but the stimuli that lead to protests at the present time, and I think four different things were mentioned. One is the insistence on open enrollment plans, as possibly the sole solution to bringing about desegregated educations. This apparently irritates those who are close to the protest activities. Also, the failure of boards to do more than just set up programs for the culturally deprived to the exclusion of really moving vigorously to work on desegregation problems themselves. The failure to see that there is no choice between improving schools and correcting segregation. And there was the commitment on the part of some, or at least the recognition that school administrators are not without know-how in the area of desegregation. There is a question as to the extent of commitment on the part of some, the failure to integrate staff and textbooks and the unwillingness to engage in or implement the results of profitable dialogue. There were a couple of sidelights. One man came to the door and he asked, "Is this the protest group meeting?" And the usher at the door said, "Yes. But it is too crowded to demonstrate in." We noted also the Urban League of housing was sitting there and in part of the discussion someone identified him as a realtor against whom some less than comendatory statements had been made during the ~~ids~~ discussion. Two groups dealt with the goal of the federal and the state governments. It was indicated with regard to state activity that five states in the country, California, Michigan, New York, New Jersey, and Massachusetts have developed plans that represent some, at least, positive approaches to providing aid to persons in the local school districts. Many things were suggested as tools, as ways that they could be of help to the local school district. I think basically it meant providing the stimulation, helping them experiment with new approaches. It was also suggested that the Urban League might study these states' plans and other states' plans to lift from them the essence of positive procedures and pass them on to other units of the Urban League and other parts of the school structure. With regard to the federal government discussion group, there was the naturally, the discussion as to how far could the federalb government go in controlling the actual programatic aspects of the educational process. There were some who felt that this would really infringe on the autonomy of the states or the local district. There were others who indicated that since the federal government carries such a heavy fiscal responsibility they might accompany this with a greater involvement, possibly by having regional persons floating around as consultants to local school districts. There was the question, or at least the suggestion, that maybe school districts ought to be looked upon somewhat like some of the phases of the OEL program where a county or an instrumentality of government knows how much funds this group will have to work with and there was some question as to whether this is always clear in the school system. I think the essence of the thought was that if school districts know how much money they can get frpm these various sources they may be more tempted to move into the more innovative or creative ways of approaching quality integrated education. Citizens advisory committees came in for a great deal of discussion. The group was so large, or at least, the discussion was so heated that they divided into two sections for some temporary refining of the issues. Out of this group came the thought that citizens advisory committees are generally favored in all cities. There role covers a range of activity - the investigative, supportive; developmentive, developmental, informative, but the problem is how to develop - seven more minutes - how to develop so that they do not become tools of the boards of education. There were some suggestions, one being that a group in the community that feels it has a special competence offer its services to the boards of education. One of the groups mentioned was the Urban League. Another was the PTA without the T party aspects of the PTA. They felt that there should be a more representative group, however, than maybe this in strument of the educational systme might represent. Some felt that communities could nominate panels of persons from which school boards might draw a select number to serve as these committees. One city mention a 52 member committee that had come up with recommendations

(3o-some in number) as a result of having worked at the sub-unit level, having access to all the records and the books and materials that the board of education uses. We were not sure at the moment what the result of these recommendations would be. With regard to parent education and adult education programs, these two groups combined and in so doing they found that there were many points of similarity that they had. One very key statement came out of this discussion on the part of one of the participants, is that in developing programs with parents and, I think, the whole point was getting greater involvement with the thought of stimulating social change, he says that you should listen to the parent with a large L and direct with a small 'd'. Try to impress the constituents not ___________ group. I think the common thought about adult education and parent education was that we may have to move away from the traditional middle class concept of involvement and learning and place more emphasis on what the cultural environment does and means to these adults that we are seeking to train. Mention was made of the National Urban Leagues' share of project enable, as one hopeful example of parent eudcation. Finally, with regard to school boards, there was discussion around the procedure ofappointing in contrast to electing school boards. In that session, however, which was heavily weighted with school board members there was but one person who had reached his status by the appointive route. They felt that by the procedure of the election there was a visible constituent group for whom and to whom this person should be responsible and in the case of one city in the northwest where usually the school board has to be confronted with the problem of promoting a tax levy, it was felt that this provided additional emphasis by virtue of having been elected. One concern is the lack of support form the Negro community as school board members work vigorously to promote programs that they feel are in the intereste of achieving the goal of integrated quality education and the subsequent feeling on the part of many that the support that should be forthcoming from the Negro community was often absent. Surprizing to some, apparently, was the expression by one member of a school board who said, "We are timid people and occasionally we need to be subjected to the reasonably judicious needling by others inthe community." In conclusion, it would seem then that there is a sense of urgency, there is a need for a commitment, and as you look at the sign that says 'integrated quality' we might knock some of the letters and just talk about raising the IQ of the community, the school board, and the Urban League. (Applause).

Thank you very, very much. That was very, very good. During the last session this afternoon Dr. Passow will randomly call on a number of Leauges asking what their next steps are going to be. Therefore, League executives should take the responsibility for bringing together persons from their community, sit down with them between now and the last session, and think through what next steps you as an individual group, individual city group, may want to take when you get back home. And even if you are not called upon to report these orally to the total group, I assume you would be expected to write these down and pass them on to Dr. Passow or one ofthe secretaries. Am I right, Harry? I cannot stress too much the importance of the Urban League executives assuming this responsibility. A conference of this sort may be an educational venture for some, but it might be converted into a preliminary to some form of action on the local level if before you leave you determine at least one step that - if that be possible - which you will attempt to carry out when you get back. The next announcement is one of personal interest to you. If delegates wish to start checking out, they may leave their bags in the room,you don't have to take them down and park them in one of the chekc rooms. The conference is paying the hotel directly for your room, but you should take care of any personal expenses with the hotel cashier such as valet service and then, repetition, they are only paying, the Urban League is only paying for the room. Check out time has been extended to 6 PM for those who need a later check out time. May I ask one question. Does this mean that those who want to leave must indicate such to the desk or has there been a general check out time at 6 o'clock? Who would know?

General check out.

Then there is a general check out time, you needn't inform the desk - Yes?

(Inaudible)

Oh, I see. All right. Then make sure you fill out the expense vouchers and mail them to Mrs. Hattie Woodruff, I'll repeat the name, Hattie Woodruff, National Urban League, 55 East 52nd Street, New York, New York. Then the final announcement.

(Inaudible)

My friend from Milwaukee who is a philosopher asked for the zip code. I don't know, there may be some correlation between the two, Cornelius. Anyone know the zip code. Oh, its right here. It is 10022. 10022. Last announcement. The luncheon will be held in the ballroom off the mezzamine, that is a flight abouve this and we will remain in that room for the final general session. It is now one minute after 12, I think you for your attention.

(End of Tape II)

Tape 3 - 6/18/66
Luncheon Meeting- M. T. Puryear, Presiding

Ladies and gentlemen, as we move toward the final session, and I notice there are still those among you who have not finished your desert, please finish it as quietly as __________________. May I begin this by presenting those individuals who are at the head table. And beginning on my left is Dr. Martin Essex, the state Superintendant of School for Ohio and former Superintendant of the Schools in Akron. (Applause) Next is Dr. Harry Pathowe, Professor of Education at Teachers College, Columbia University and Study Director of a commission of Teachers College personnel now studying the Washington, D.C. public schools. Dr. Pathowe. (Applause) Next is Mr. Whitney M. Young, Jr., the Executive Director of the National Urban League, and our host. (Applause) Skipping the next person and going to my far right is Mr. Sterline Tucker, the Executive Director of the Washington, D. C. Urban League and a consultant to the Department of Education for the National Urban League. (Applause) And next is Mr. Frank Stanley, who is officially the Associate Director for Education Activities for the National Urban League and the Director of this conference. Mr. Stanley. It is not often that a conference is called and everybody at the conference is a delegate or a guest, and I don't think we have done this up to this point. I would like at this time to ask the representatives or individuals representing Boards of Education from the Urban League cities across the country. Would you stand please? (Applause) Now, may I ask the superintendants of schools from these cities or their representative - (Applause) Now, may I ask the presidents or representatives of theboards of directors from Urban League across the country? (Applause) May I ask now that the executive directors of the Urban Leagues across the country, would they stand please? (Applause) May I ask the participant observers to stand and may I ask with them any other individuals in the room invited or uninvited to stand, please? (Applause) Now, that gave everybody a chance to stand. That gave everybody a chance to be recognized, and that takes me off the hook for having to remember somebody's name lest I forget it by not writing it down. There is a little song that goes around the country. A lot of people sing it but very few people ever recite it. And the little song goes like this. "I believe for every drop of rain that falls, a flower grows. I believe that somewhere in the darkest night, a candle glows." It is with this kind of thinking that the Urban League would dare call such a conference out of which it would expect realistic thinking, realistic planning, and realistic implementation of the programs designed to improve the educational facilities and opportunities in these United States, to address this group and to present its own point of view, one could hardly find a better person than the Commissioner of Education for the United States. It takes 16 words to introduce the President of the United States, Mr. Commission in 13. Ladies and gentlemen, may I present the person responsible to the President for quality integrated education in this country, Commissioner Harold Howe, II. (Applause)

Commissioner Harold Howe, II
U. S. Office of Education

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, very much. Before I launch on more formal remarks, I want to say how indebted I think we all should be to the Urban League for making the conversations which have taken place here possible. This kind of get-together of the parties represented here is about the most significant thing that could happen as far as advancing the cause of quality desegregated education in the United States and for Teachers College and the Urban League to reach out, organize this event, ask all of you to come, get your conversations well organized over a period of days - this seems to me to be a very great contribution, and from my point of view I thank the Urban League for this exercise. In their letter describing this conference, Mr. Young and Dr. Fischer outlined as two topics of discussion, first, the prospect of obtaining support - public support - for integrated quality education. Second, the feasibility of integrated quality education. Now, that agenda has a fine ring to it. The word 'feasibility' has five syllables, thus assuring everyone that this will be an intellectual affair, carried out on a high plane by gentlemen wearing shirts, ties, suit coats, and perhaps even Phi Beta Kappa keys. I was pleased to receive an invitation to your company and sat down soon after receiving it to compose some gentlemanly five syllable thoughts. And then James Meredith was shot down on a road in Mississippi. Paradoxically, I heard of this event just a few minutes after I left a meeting with Secretary John Gardner, Roy Wilkins of the NAACP and a number of civil rights leaders accompanying Mr. Wilkins. We were discussing our progress in school and hospital desegregation. And I started to wonder whether civil rights was sny place for a gentlemanly discussion. I am beginning to suspect that it is not. In any case, I have the feeling that those of us who think of ourselves as gentlemen should either stop pretending that we care about racial equality or we should step down from our air conditioned podiums and start something definite in the way of a program. Considering the authority (Applause) that we gentlemanly educational officials have at our command to correct racial injustice in our schools I feel that we have accomplished very little so far and I include myself in this. We have, to be sure, gotten a fair amount of newspaper space. And published enough committee reports on the inequality of segregated education to build a paper tower of Babel. Nothing is safer these days than denouncing bigotry. But I find myself puzzeling over which is worse, honest bigotry or well-intentioned timidity. While we have gone on urging moderation, sweet reason, and bigger and better panel discussions the school throughout the nation remain almost as segregated today as they were in 1954 when the Supreme Court decided that racially segregated education was illegal. The small progress that the South has made toward desegregation has been offset by increasing de facto segregation in the cities of the North. Since 1954 an entire sub-generation of Negro and white youngsters who started first grade in that year has now graduated from high school. Most without any classroom experience with the other race. The fact today are that a Negro youngster in an American elementary school has on the national average not much more than 15% of his classmates from the majority white group. In the Southern states this figure is nearer to 5%. White high school students can expect to have 9 out of 10 of their classmates from their own white group. The picture does not inspire calm satisfaction. And this is doubly true when one takes into consideration the fact that these figures are averages. A large group of Negro Americans see no white faces among their classmates in either elementary or secondary school. Now, moderation has a great deal to be said for it, especially for the moderates. I am reminded of the paryer that St. Augustine address to heaven when he was a young man. "Oh, Lord," he said, "make me chaste, but not yet." Our works (words) have urged the nation to desegregated schools. But our reluctance to act has said even louder, 'Not yet'. Somehow we seem to have been lulled into a blind faith in gradualism. A mindless confidence that some morning, some year, a suddenly transformed electorate will spontaneously and joyously decide that this is the day to integrate America. Well, it is not going to happen that way, for a variety of reason, one or two of them arguable, the rest pure rationalization, the majority of American whites display no likelyhood of becoming enthusiasitc about school desegregation and the changes it demands in the immediate future. The law of this land, nevertheless, beckons everyone of us, calling on us to recognize that desegregating the schools is our legal responsibility, that it will not be easy work, and that it is futile to expect that years to errode those passions that today make the processes of desegregation unpopular. Gradualism, no matter what we call it, has failed. And I think it is fair to say that those who continue to sepouse it are fooling themselves and in many ways failing out nation. It seems to me time for school officials to form a third front for racial equality in the United States. At one end of the civil rights movement today we have the gradualists, both white and Negro, a polite and sometimes sluggish team deeply respectful of the public and sometimes given to assuring each other that it is possible to make an omlet without breaking eggs. At the other end are the activists, both the non-violent demonstrators, and those weary and desperate Americans who have come to feel that violence is the only way to get anything done. The failure of gradualists would seem at bottom to be fear. Fear of rocking a boat no matter how leaky which appears at least to be floating somewhere. The failure of the activists is that while they know in general terms what they want to achieve and are willing to pay a heavy price to obtain it, they have neither the position in society nor the professionals knowledge of the means and importance of advancing racial equality within the framework of law. School officials have both position and knowledge. Those of us professionally engaged in education are charged with setting educational policy within our respective juristictions. We are familiar with a variety of methods that can be used to advance school desegregation. What we have often lacked is a productive commitment. I say 'productive', because for all our recognition of theimportance of school desegregation to our society, the fact remains that we have not achieved much of it. I say 'commitment' because achieving desegregation does not require fury or breast beating. It does require something very much more important. The recognition that school desegregation must be accomplished and the determination to do it. Our task obviously requires ~~a task~~ an activity more sophisticated than the gritting of our corporate teeth.

School officials occupy a curious position. Somewhere between that of the educational leader and the political leader, but it is apparent that for many administrators a necessary sensitivity to public opinion has tended to dilute their sense of responsibility for educational leadership. And that they have exercised it only after the public parade has already decided which way it wants to go. This may sound to many educators an unfair and even overdrawn endictment. The record clearly shows that school officials are making remarkable strides toward improving American education. They are coming up with new ideas and accepting the risks inherent in all (its _______________) (experimentation), but to win public support for such advances as team teaching, modern curriculum, language laboratories, ungraded classrooms, closed circuit television, and computorized instruction, is not enough. We must at the same time desegregate the schools. To do otherwise is to accept the shadow of educational leadership in place of its substance. School desegreation is the single point on which we who call ourselves educational leaders prove that we are really so, or demonstrate that we are merely trying to keep things quiet until we receive our gold watches for a lifetime devoted to the status quo. The fact is, that no matter how hard we try, we will not be able to keep things quiet. A revolution is brewing under our feet and it is largely up to the schools to determine whether the energies of that revolution can be converted into a new and vigorous source of American progress or whether their explosion will rip this nation into two societies. We simply cannot wait until dramatic action becomes (safe), for at this point it is much less dangerous to make a mistake than it is to do nothing. Feeding that revolution is a mjor shift in American folkways. Today, approximately two of every three adult Negroes living in the North was born and raised in the South. This move has necessarily had a major impact, often a bewildering impact, on the individual. In some ways the life he left in the South was less segregated than it is in the North. The Negro child born in the South was, to be sure, raised on the notion that he would always occupy a subservient position. But it was, nevertheless, a subservient position within a white society. The young Norther Negro of today's cities lives in a black society. He has few points of contacts with whites and those few, when you reflect on them, are revealing. He is likely to encounted a white teacher, a white policeman, and a white merchant. He can pass his entire adolescnece without having to deal with the white world outside the ghetto, and his ideas of that worlk are based on three types - the teacher, often a symbol of boredom and irrelevance, the policeman, a symbol of authority, if not of repression, and the merchant, sometimes a symbol of white cunning. And so the young Negro setting froth from the ghetto to confront this white world expects it is going to misunderstand and oppress him. And too often he finds evidence to justify his fears. It is no wonder that if he has any sponk and imagination, he rejects the fatalism of his father and decides that it is the part of a man to change this sorry mess he inherited. And if it takes violence to change it - well, that is what it takes. It is this young Negro who must be convinced that the United States is his home, not his prison. That it is a county worth fighting for and not a chage to be fought out of. If may already be too late to change his mind, but it is not too late to provide his younger borthers and sisters with a healthier belief. Nor too late to protect white children from the destructive stereotype that most white adults inhereted from their own segregated education. What tools have we to demolish the wall which separates our young citizens. How can we prevent them from fearing each other? Before they have even met. You are as familiar as I with some of the ideas that have been proposed to desegregate the schools. Pairing plans that provide faculty and student exchanges between predominantly white and Negro schools, busing to all the (alter) the racial composition of schools in different parts of the community, educational parks that might have as many as 20,000 students drawn from every racial, economic, and geographic sector of the city, supplementary centers for the special enrichment of education which bring together young people from different sides of the tracks for a common denominator of learing together, in addition there are a number of federally sponsored programs that offer help. Under Title 4 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, for example, The United States Office of Education provides financial assistance to school personnel and authorities to deal with the special problems resulting from desegregation. Grants under this act are given to school boards for training teachers and other personnel and for the employment of specialists. Training institutes are supported to improve the ability of teachers, supervisors, counsellors and other school personnel to handle desegregation problems. Since the beginning of the Title 4 program in January of 1965, applications have been received for funds totalling more than $35,000,000,000 - excuse me - $35,000,000 against available funds amounting to $12,275,000. The Office of Education has been able to support 59 grants amounting to $4,900,000. We have supported 115 institutes in the amount of $6,500,000. More than 7,500 teachers, supervisors, counsellors, principals, have benefited from the institute training alone. Title 3 of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 also authorizes federal aid to school districts to help them plan and carry out new ideas for school desegregation. President Johnson added a special $5,000,000 fund for this purpose, in his message on education this year. Title 1 of the same act has the overall effect of easing the harmful educational results of school segregation, because its entire $959,000,000 is aimed at benefiting those children who have suffered most because of the poverty that usually accompanies racial inequities. These are the estimated 5½ million children from families whose annual income is less than $2000 a year. Here, too, after school and summer school projects are providing the opportunity to integrate staff and students in ways that aren't possible in the regular school program. Each of these acts, together with the 70-odd other program administered by the United States Office of Education, has been given a special thrust by the Civil Rights Act . Title 6 of the act, as you know, prohibits federal aid to any program of activity that discriminates among its recipients on the basis of race, color or national origin. Thus, the Civil Rights Act makes every federal program, whether it be for education, urban development, or water pollution control, a powerful financial tool in the drive against racial inequities. The rationale behind this act is simple. No desegregation, no federal money. But though the rationale may be simple, its operation os both frustratin and complex. The nation sees that frustration in the Office of Education's attempts to secure complyance with our school desegregation guidelines in the South. We in the office see this frustration in an even more acute form. In our attempt to define what constitutes racial discrimination in the cities of the North and West, where segregation depends less on stated community policy than upon patterns of residence. To say this is by no means to say the The Office of Education is caving in on de facto desegregation. That is, segregation Northern style.

It is to say that the issues are complicated and subtle, that establishing a clear-cut and legal basis on which to take action and be confident of withstanding any challenge, has required far more investigation and study than we would have preferred. We are not satisfied with our pace. But that dissatisfaction adds up, not to retreat, but to determination to redouble our enforcement efforts where they are pertinent. The broad position we must all assume on this matter comprises two parallel and equally important policies. One cannot work without the other. The first is to make the schools of the central cities such good schools that they attract people rather than repel them. The second is to use every possible device to inclue within each school a cross section of the social and economic backgrounds of the metropolis. A student should meet America in his school, not a segregated segment of it. The concept of racial balance may be impractical except as an idea in a city with more Negroes than whites and a continuing white exodus. But keeping our eyes on that ideal can help us to do practical things now to slow the exodus and provide equal educational opportunities. Some very practical things are now underway at the instigation of state and local officials acting on their own to make equal educational opportunity a reality. Sometimes inthe face of community opposition, sometimes hand in hand with community determination to erradicate a century old injustice. And here are some examples. The Denver School Board has authorized double sessions at one of its high schools in order to cut class size and reduce pupil-teacher ratios to a point where teachers can use some new instructional techniques to better advantage. A special pilot program for compensatory education was provided for and the administrative staff was instructed to draft plans to bus enough Negro student volunteers to other schools to achieve better racial balance at a school that was in danger of becoming ell Negro. Summer programs in Little Rock are fully integrated as to staff and students and are being conducted in formerly all-white schools. Portland, Oregon's program of saturation services for inner city schools aims at producing an education program so good that it will reverse the flight of middle class whites from racially balanced schools in the fringe areas. The St. Paul system is considering a plan to combine a rapid transit system with a cluster of four or five 300 acre parks that would bring youngsters from the the ghetto, from other city schools and from parochial and suburban schools into central locations from classes ranging from nursery school through junior college. Other cities looking seriously at the possibility of similar educational parks include East Orange, New Jersey, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and New York City. In describing the St. Paul plan, the superintendatn, Donald Dunnin admitted that the educational park may not be the entire answer to school desegregation. But, he said, it is the kind of step that is need Everybody has been saying 'let's do something'. We are. And that is the point - to do something. But let us agree on this. In terms of the magnitude of the past, none of these approaches, not the special arrangements made by the schools nor the program sponsored by the federal government is a perfect instrument for doing the job they are supposed to complete. Yet that is precisely why educatos who know both the uses and the limitations of these ideas must act on them. For we must supply, ~~encourage/and~~ in courage and in action what our plans lack in ingenuity and effectiveness. There is no such thing as the perfect wasy to achieve school desegregation. There is no magic key that will unlock all the doors that private prejudice and public pressure have placed in the way of equal opportunity in education. We must simply bore ahead with the tools we have and it won't be pleasnat and it won't be quiet, and it would be much nicer if somebody else would share the work, but the job is there to do and if any of us entered into education with the idea that it would be a soft touch this is as good a time as any to concede that we made a big mistake. There is lots of conversation about local control of the schools. If we really believe in it, and I assure you that I am in the number that do, we must make it work. We must guide the schools to a continuing freedom while at the same time responding appropriately to calls for national action. Local school districts must not sit on their hands and then bellow about haveing the reigns of educational policy yanked from their fingers. We are in the midst of a struggle for excellent education for every American youngster, and we must use every likely tool we can devise. Local school administrators must consider combining with neighboring districts for educational purposes, even though political boundaries may remain unchanged. We cannot wait for mayors and city counsels to do the work they hired us to do. And sometimes we must do work they don't want us to do. There is no point in waiting for real estate salesmen to get the message from on high and ease our job by selling homes to anyone who wants them. There is no point in waiting for American corporations to start hiring Negro men as readily as they do well-dressed, light skinned, Negro women. Neither American home salesmen nor American personnel managers have ever insisted that they have a major responsibiltiy for building American society. They have never pretended to do anything but their job. American school men, howeer, have quite probably taken a large share of credit for establishing national unity and freedom of opportunity. Our predecessors in the classroom helped 20,000,000 European immigrants to become Americans. And we haven't stopped bragging about it yet. If we are to retain that pride in our tradition I think we must recognize that the great achievments of the past are not only a legacy, but also, a heavy burden, if we want to wear the laurels, we must also carry the load. The load we must carry is that of irritating a fair percentage of our constituents, of embarrassing some governors and mayors, or alarming some newspaper publishers, and of enraging suburban taxpayers, who in proportion to their means are not paying as much for their good schools as paupers in the city are paying for their bad ones. And all this means that finally and most grievously we must run the risk of being invited to resign. Unless all of us are willing to put our jobs and our integrety on the line we should admit that American educators are no longer prepared to be the prime movers in American education. American education today is perhaps the hottest room in our national house, but we picked it out all by ourselves. To paraphrase a metaphore first wrough by President Truman, I would say that we must either adjust ourselves to the heat or let somebody else take over the kitchen. (Applause)

Mr. Commissioner, I think the reaction to your presentation speaks for itself. Ladies and gentleman, the Commissioner has consented to react to one or two questions for the next 10 or 12 minutes, and if, I think if someone has something ~~buring~~ burning to ask, Mr. Howe is ready.

Mr. Howe

Let me make an informal observation while you are dreaming up your questions - I think it is terribly important in making as strong a series of remarks as this, to be sure to recognize that you know the I know that there are those among you here that are doing this job, courageously and effectively. It is also important to recognize that the connection between school superintendants and school boards is a key matter in this realm of a vigorous, local community posture on moving ahead with plans for desegregation. A school superintendant who does this without the backing of the board has a difficult time, indeed. Some courageous superintendants have done that, but I still believe that if we look across the country as a whole, the entire business of local school districts taking local responsibility for picking up this nettle and trying to work with it constructively has not been sufficiently acted upon, that if you look at the broad picture we don't have as much active leadership in this realm as we ought to have and that therefore the kinds of points that I made in those remarks do generally bear out the picture. Now, can we have any observations? Yes, sir?

. . . . . . (Approaching microphone) . . . urge our school boards to exercise responsibility and leadership in desegregating education. This causes a question to come to my mind, as to why the Office of Education's guidelines would contemplate approveing so-called freedom of choice desegregation plans in the South, which seem to me the abdacation by school boards of their responsibility to assign children to school zones.

If you will read the desegregation guidelines carefully, you will find that it says in them that the job of creating an atmosphere in a community so that choices can indeed be freely exercised by pupils and their parents and so that undue pressures are in no way brought to bear and the responsibility for running a free choice plan which conforms to the rules set forth in those guidelines, this is a local responsibility of the school board and the superintendant. It is a responsibility that is frequently abdacated, but the responsibility is clearly placed on the local community to take the leadership in this realm. Now, in further comment on this I would say in addition, that I don't regard the free choice plan as any ultimate solution to the problem of desegregation. It seems to me that at some point we have to move beyond it. It seems to me that school superintendatns themselves cannot face each year the kind of disrupption and disorganization which occurs in the administration of the free choice plan. It does seem to me that in thepractical situation we confronted that this was one way to move into the desegregation of the dual school system in the South. So I won't defend free choices as any ultimate solution at all. Other observations? Don't tell me we shut you all up. I have some friends here I know that isn't true of. Yes, sir?

I would like to ask this questions. Massachusetts as a state ________________ unprecedented ____________ of passing a law for racial balancing of our schools and this provides that where a local community does not take the proper steps indicated that the State Board of Education can withhold state funds from that community. Now, this step has also been taken in Massachusetts. Funds have been held and are being withheld, I believe, from Boston schools and while our school committee is made up of five people, and I want to intimate that there are five people there and it is not just one monolithic entity there, and I am not just trying to be polite to my host here, because I don't think he needs this kind of politeness, happily, but the school committee members did start listening a little more when those state funds were withheld. But now there are some federal funds mixed up in this thing, too, now, I raised the question the other day - does a state board of education have the same right to withhold federal funds from a local community that it has a right to hold state funds from a local community? Now, what I am getting at obviously is, that if we could get this state money and federal money too than that would be more money and maybe we would get more listening and maybe we could get this 3-2 vote that always goes the wrong way to a 3-2 vote to go the right way. And I want to ask - how do we get this done? I am talking about federal money now.

Well, I know exactly the situation which you are referring to - we have a letter on it in the Office of Education, which - I wish I could give you a clear ruling on it. Obviously, it is a complicated legal problem. We will be putting out a ruling on this. We have a formal request to allow Massachusetts to withhold federal funds on the grounds that a state stipulation has not been lived up to, but I am not in a position to give you a definitive statement on the issue right now. I wish that I were. You and I are describing exactly the same situation and it seems to me that we ought to do everything possible to bring state policies and federal policies into alignment where a state does reach out in a constructive way ahead of the federal government as Massachusetts has it seems to me we ought to try if we possibly can to support that state in such a reach. But there is, as you clearly recognize, I am sure, a legal issue involved in this. It must go back to the interpretation of thelaw and we are engaged in that process right now. Yes, sir?

. . . . in your opinion, what is quality education?

You know, happily I was at your meeting for a few minutes this morning when the philosopher answered that question (applause) - I am tempted to answer it the same way. What we all do in the education business when somebody asks us this kind of question is to come up either with some very trite and oft-repeated statement like - quality education is that education which helps every youngster to realize the full potential that is in him. And that doesn't seem very original or very helpful. Or else we go into a long discussion about the 17 characteristics of quality education and meetings of school administrators get together and make those lists - nobody reads them as far as I know, and certainly nobody does anything about them and I am inclined to think that the somewhat humorous answer that was given you this moring may have more in it than all would like to think. The fact is that in this country we don't have an educational system that - we have got 25,000 educational systems. The fact is that the ~~dividision~~ vision of what quality education is is a diversified vision, not a single vision. There is no agreement on this matter of quality education. There is a difference of opinion about it and I think on the whole it is healty that it is. So lookingfor some simple statement about it doesn't seem to me to be a particularly useful exercise. The useful exercise, to me, is having your school board decide for itself what it thinks quality education is, and that is an extemely important matter. Any other observations? Yes, sir?

I have a copy of the complaint that was filed by the Witchataw community with your Office on February 11, 1966 regarding de facto segregation in the Witchataw schools filed by the NAACP.

And nothing has happened since this complaint has been filed. The last work (word) that I got when leaving Witchataw is that the community would like to know one wasy or another if there is any validity to the complaint or if there is no validity to the complaint the whole point is that we want some action one way or the other. Could you speak to this point?

I can't speak to the specific point of the complaint of the Wichataw schools, you realize, I assume, that we have about 3,000 employees in our office and that we referee the complaints of some 2000 school districts in the South and probably 400 or 500 complaints from other school district sources, so I can't keep all these in mind. Just let me tell you about some of our troubles, will you? In the Office of Education, what we are trying to do is to make a revolution in this country with a ragged army, believe me, and it ain't easy. Our total civil rights complaint staff numbers about 100 people. At the present time they are - all of their energies are taken up in very high proportion in trying to get the job done in the Southern states. You will get an answer to your complaint. I regret that it is delayed. Some other people are in the same position, but we are not going to let these things go unanswered, but we do have a great many individual complaints coming from responsible organizations like yours, some coming on scraps of paper written by individuals in illegible hand. We answer them all. But there are many thousands of them, so I hope you will bear with us. Yes, sir?

There seem to be many cities in the United States in which there is a ghetto. It is said to be the hallmark of the American city. There are also cities where Negroes live indiscriminantly where-ever they want to within the city unit, and there are other cities where there are no Negroes. Is there a model which you could site in any one of these three classes that you could hold up to us as a model for desegregation or as a model for quality integrated education?

I think I might get into so much trouble by naming one that I guess I won't. But, you know perfectly well that there are - there is a spectrum of constructive living with these problems and on one hand there are people who are doing nothing at all and on the other hand there are cities, communities which are making very positive efforts and which have been doing so for a long time, and there are all sorts in between. I think that each of us in his own experience knows a few communities well enough to put some on one end of this spectrum and some on the other, but I haven't got a sufficient overview of the total ~~stitu~~ situation in the United

States to start picking out the champs. So I really won't try. Other observations? Yes, sir?

Mr. Commissioner, I am interested in the land locked school board or the superintendant who is between two brick walls. The man who wants to move but because of external circumstances cannot move. I am speaking of city planning commission who over the years have produced a city that locked the school board in so tight that it can't do anything unless thiese external sources are broken. What action are we taking in this area to allow some freedom of movement to the school boards and superintendants?

Well, the only useful point I might make here is from the point of view of the federal government, rather than trying to generalize about what is going on in cities, it seems to me that the creation of the Department of ~~Urbna~~ Housing and Urban Development in the federal government and the beginning of conversations now between those of us in Health, Education & Welfare and those in Housing and Urban Development about the impact of our several programs in the city, can help communities to reach in the direction that you are suggesting. We have to recognize at the same time that there are local planning boards that aren't going to respond to these influences in the federal government, to the degree that we can accompany these federal programs with funds which depend upon constructive moves by local boards, I think we will have some impact, and I think this kind of holding a little bit of a threat over the head of cities is something that is probably going to have to develop to get some of them to move, but aside from this I won't attempt to comment on the actual problem in specific cities. Mr. Chairman, I am in the embarrassing position of just having to catch the 3 o'clock shuttle or I just might get fired, so I probably outhg to go, but I do want to thank you very much for this opportunity to be here. It has meant a great deal to me. (Applause)

At this time I would like to ask Harry Passow to come to the podium and take care of this little exercise and to assure you that we are dead on schedule - that was supposed to be over by 2:15, it is 2:12, that we are supposed to be through in this room and on the way out and I have asked the ushers in the back to open the doors at three so no matter who is up here the doors will open at 3:00 and you may leave, so we are making progress

Harry Passow

Puryear is making things very difficul for me. About 10 days ago i was called or got a letter from the Urban League and they wanted a copy of my summation speech and I told them that I could do that that I could write the summation although I though I should wait until the conference was held, but now that the conference has been held and I am ready to give my summation speech, I find that I am again being asked to give the one page version of War and Peace, and then they won't even let me give that one page version until I surprize some of my - I was going to say some of my friends in the Urban League , but after we get done with this short exercise, I think that will be some of my ex-friends in the Urban League. I have been asked and I think that it is important that we do this - a conference of this kind serves a good many functions - one of which is to have an exchange of views. The idea of the team of four people coming to sit down together and talk about a problem area that is of mutual concern to all of them is a good one and we have seen during the past day and a half a sitting down on a formal and an informal basis for an exchange of views which we who helped plan this conference hope will continue when the conference is adjourned at 3 o'clock I am told instead of 3:30. And so we want to take a few minutes in the less than an hour that is left for us to see some of the actions or the strategies or the tactics or the plans that have been laid or thought about for the next steps when you get back home what are you going to do. How are we going to continue what has beenstarted or what has been nurtured by this particular conference? Now, I was not quite sure how to do this. Sterling Tucker and Frank Stanley - notice how I go their names in so you can blame them - gave me a list of 11 cities I should call on but in the meantime I have gone around to a few tables and convinced a few people that they ought to make some presentation, so I want you to take literally a couple of minutes, not more, in which you will give us some ideas of the kinds of things that you are planning to do to give some idea of where the conference goes from now. One of the things that Frank Stanley and I argued about as we planned the conference is how much can you do in a day and a half. I think you can just get things started and now, we would like to know ~~aht/did~~ what did get started during the time here. So I am going to call first, and I am not going to call by name, the person who will report. If you have no report or if you have nothing to say at this point, don't feel you have to. In other words, if you have nothing to say, don't say it. So I am going to call first on someone from the Buffalo, New York public schools and the Buffalo, New York Urban League because he came sort of prepared and I understand he had a statement that has been run off. I haven't seen it as yet, but we know we have got a plan here for action. He was over there. There he is.

Buffalo, New York

Mr. Chairman, we did come here prepared with a plan. We have a five man delegation, Dr. Manch, our school superintendant, Mr. Nickowski, Prsident of theBoard of Education, Mrs. Johnson, the President of the Board of the Urban League and Mr. George Goodyear, member of both boards, Urban League and the Board of Education. We came here with a plan that is similar to what we found when we got here, except that we have been able to modify this after talking last evening because of what we have heard hear at the conference. This plan calls for not finally settling the question, but for working on it, calling together the various public and private agencies in the community, including private realestate, the teachers and the students, mind you, and parents, to sit in on it and discuss how we can attack this problem, this problem of how to produce quality integrated education. As Dr Manch, who is Superintendant of the Schools would like to say a word because we are all - we have all worked on this plan before we got here and we will probably increase the number of people we have called togehter when we get back home. Dr. Manch.

Dr. Manch

Thank you. I dont have the text before me, but in discussing this a week or so ago we - it was my feeling that what we needed was more dialogue among people, not just the people that we have here but people in the community. Various groups are talking to one another, it seems to me. And we need to face the fact that we have to sit across the table, face to face, with people who don't feel perhaps as we do, assuming that we all feel pretty generally alike. And have a knock-down-drag-out discussion about our feelings and get to know one another. I am still old fashioned enough to still think that there is some to in the words to the song from "South Pacific", I think it was, about getting to know you, I think that is we do meet accasionally and get to know one another we may have some different feelings about what we do. I was going to ask the Commissioner a question which I am going to take advantage of this opportunity to comment on here, and this could help us, too. Many people respect authority of one kind or another, and I think that their feelings are sometimes changed by what people who are in positions of authority say. I think in this sense the superintendant of the schools has a responsibility. I did say at the White House Conference on Education last summer that I don't think we as school administrators have spoken out frankly enough about these things we are talking about. Maybe in some cases there is a question about what various groups in the community think and how far dare we go and do on, but we do have to take a position and I think we need to speak out and I think some of us have. But I think the Commissioner and I just raised the question around our table about this, and this in a sense could be part of this plan, we need to say what people who are in positions who know what the situations are think about these things. Adn we had, and maybe somebody can answer this, and I am sorry that Mr. Howe had to leave, we had (had we had) from the Commissioner's Office a very clear statement addressed perhaps to administrators or to school boards, saying some of these things about integration that we assume, that are implied, that are in speeches and so on, saying frankly something to this effect, - We believe - and was to have the authority of the U. S. Office of Education behind it, and maybe the Urban League could ask for this - We believe that in a pluralistic society like ours it is desirable to attempt to reflect in our school membership a cross section of the community the schools serve, and so. I am reciting word for word the statement that our board has adopted. A statement by the way that I made over two years ago without the approval of the school board. This hasn't solved everything, but some people have felt that if the superintendant is willing to say these things maybe we ought to listen, and I think form this point of view if we could have a statement from the U. S. Office, from the Commissioner it might help, but I think the main part of the Buffalo plan is that various people in the community including official organizations, the Police Department, the school system, the private school systems, people of various organizations would get together and openly face this question, raise issues and try to get some answers.

Thank you very much, Dr. Manch. I don't know that we have the exact kind of statement that you are calling for from the U.S. Office of Education, but there are statements concerning the position and the basis for the position I believe that are available and one might contact the U. S. Office for that. Lancaster, Pennsylvania, a quite different community from Buffalo, is the next school system or area on my list.

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, in that I was just drafted for this about two seconds ago I am tempted to become somewhat philosophical at this point myself. -

(End of Tape 3)

Tape 4 - 6/18/66

Continued directly from Tape 3 - Final Session presided over by Dr. Harry A. Passow

. . . . . definition of a philosopher is, that a philosopher is a person who knows more and mpre about less and less until finally he knows nothing. Therefore, I guess we will try to be somewhat specific. Specific steps to develop quality integrated education in Lancaster are as follows. #1, a plan to change school district boundaries and open enrollment is now being developed by the Lancaster City/County Human Relations Committee, which is closely allied to the Urban League through its chairman who is a member of our board of directors and through the staff and board persons at the League who serve on said groups. #2, an in-service training programin intergroup relations has been planned and is being carried out between the Urban League and the school administrations for principals and supervisors. This fall teachers will also be involved in said program. #3, contacts have been made with colleges and universities throughout the State of Pennsylvania and throughout the nation to secure Negro personnel for the Lancaster school system by our administration. This will soon be supplemented by efforts by the Urban League's Education and Youth Incentives Committee to promote a countywide teacher recruitment program. Fourth and last, the Urban League will use the community organization process to mobilize groups in the city and county of Lancaster, Pennsylvania who can exert influence upon integrated quality education such as #1, NAACP chapters, #2, County Counsil of Churches, #3, social agencies, #4, the educational concerns committee, #5, a southeast area council, #6, the Cap Committee, #7, the Lancaster Education Association, #8, PTAs throughout the county, #9, the Lancaster city/ county and the Pennsylvania State Human Relations Committees and Commissions and #10, the National Conference of Christians and Jews. Thank you.

Now, does anyone really believe that he did that in two seconds? Next time we will give him some time to prepare. New Haven, Connecticut. Did Alfonse take off?? Did he find a substitute? There is an administrator for you. Speaking for New Haven, Connecticut is someone.

New Haven has been fortunate to have had a Community Progress, Incorporated going on for some time to endeavor to bring about quality education in the community. One of the things that we are finding though is that the flood of people out from the town has meant that we are no longer getting integrated education and so we are concerned about what can be done about this. No direct step has been taken. We hope to use this meeting hear as a springboard for additional action and to get our board into doing some things. The board has been concerned about this and certainly the fact that the board of education paid to have eight other people in addition to bhe people who were officially invited by the Urban League attend this meeting is indicative of their concern. We hope to use the reports from this session as a springboard for additional action. One of the things that we also are aware of in our community is the large number of students who are enrolled in parochial and private schools and so when we go back to our community as we begin to involve a number of people in this problem of integrated schools, we are going to try to involve the private schools and the parochial schools as well. The board of education already has had some relationships with the parochial because the teacher training program for this summer on problems related to the inner city schools is involving the parochial school teachers as well, so there is a relationship established already and we think we can use this relationship to get started on talking to them about their responsibilities of the problem of the large numbers of Negro kids left in the public school system. Thank you.

Thank you. I did not find the Little Rock representatives. Does Little Rock have something they can tell us about? I'll give a little warning. Cleveland is next on my list. While the microphone is coming over I want you to know that Cleveland, the only place where we have promoted a man to the job of superintendant during this conference. I want to congratulate Jim Tanner on his 48 hour occupancy of that particujlar role. I presume when he gets back to Cleveland tonight the superintendant might have other ideas.

Mr. Chairman, I am Warren Bass representing the Board of Education of Little Rock. Mr. Ewing, the director of the Urban League there had to depart. He had to make a speech in Memphis at 7:30 so he was running. We have 3 concrete proposals that Superintendant Parsons and I have discussed with him and which he is very much interested in in the Urban League's action that is in our city which, by the way, is a strong Urban League, it supports our schools all out. We were very proud to hear Commissioner Howe mention our in-service training program for 40 of our teachers that is going on right now and for our administrators and supervisors. 1, to - parent training in our schools that we know are becoming more and more a higher percentage of integrated enrollment - parent education to stop them from moving on out and accentuating our ghetto problem. 2, to try to rally the several diverse Negro groups to where the responsible Urban League could be the spokesman and sift out all the complaints and be a barometer of feeling. We subscribe to the superintendant who just spoke about dialogue. We have much of it with all of these groups and it is quite time consuming, but if we had cne screening agent that could hear them all we would like it to be the Urban League, and third, in our city this year, we are integrating atheletics in the schools which have been integrated the Negro and white children participate in athletics together, but we still have all Negro schools and all white schools who for the first time this fall will be playing each other in basketball, football, and track. We ask for leadership so that some violent (seg) won't creat incidents there in preparing our community. We were going high school wide this fall too except that we are under two year contract, but we start our junior high inner city athletics this fall and that is what 3 projects Mr Ewing is undertaking to support Little Rock public schools. Thank you.

Thank you very much. Cleveland back there?

New Orleans next - where is New Orleans? Okay. Give you a moment to think.

Mr. Chairman, since Cleveland is ~~ne/ot/e~~ one of the smallest communities our report will be brief. It is our feeling that our relationship with the schools and the administration in Cleveland has been good at this point, we have worked cooperatively on programs in the past. Our experience here has indicated that we shall continue and intensify it as it is. Specifically, the board of education will be making a presentation of some of its proposed plans including a proposed bond issue to the Urban League Board at its September meeting. There are specific recommenations as to how to do it on the matters of mutual concern which the Urban League is being asked to present to the board of education to help us in the effort to achieve quality integrated education. And third, the Urban League is going to join with the Cleveland board of education to support the establishment of the downtown high schools which our superintendant has proposed, which the board of education has passed to be built in connection with Cleveland State University for the purpose for providing what we feel is increase and enhanced quality education, the kind of things that are not provided in the regular schools in our city so that it provides us with a means ~~and~~ in our sharply divided city of achieving some integration. For those of you who may not know Cleveland, the Tahoga River, which separates the east from the west, is just as marked and as sharp as the Mason-Dixon Line. We shall continue to do those things that we have done for the benefit of school personnel, councellors, teacher personnel, and school administrators to provide them with knowledge and information based on race which helps them to do the kind of job which they must do, to give youngsters meaninful educational experiences. Thank you.

Thank you. New Orleans follows, does Minneapolis have something for us? First, New Orleans. Following Minneapolis I would like to call on Wichita. We are not going through all 76 for those who look apprehensive.

Mr. Chairman and ladies and gentlemen, I am a little reluctant to say anything because we were chided if we didn't have anything to say just hsut up, but I think we should say because we are from the deep South in New Orleans and it has been a city that has shared quite a bit of publicity nationally that we think we are finally moving into the 20th Century in New Orleans. I can't say this is true of Louisiana because if any of you are familiar enough with Louisiana, New Orleans is not a typical Louisiana town. But I would like to say that becuase of a number of factors and I ~~ctaininlylcoertainly~~ certainly would want to say the superintendant that we now have - that young man seated at that table - we are going to move into the 20th Centruy. I think we have finally developed in the community the sensitivity for the kind of education that is deserving not only of white students but Negro students. The first thing that we have to do, we have to get money to make this come true, and just this past month, I think it was about a month, we passed the first tax bond issue in 40 years in New Orleans and in what we thought might be great odds because 66-2/3 per cent of the population to share this would be Negro and in the South that is not always a good reason for doing anything, but we think that because of this we have the kind of climate, thekind of superintendatn, the kind of board that could be (would be) certainly ameanable, sympathetic and in great need of work and assistance of the Urban League and when I go back, and we have not had this in the Urban League in New Orleans, we have not had what we would consider an Education Committee, a committee that could be a laison the same as was mentioned by Cleveland, and to ______ _________ a board _________ the kind of research fact and information that we need to do the job that we have talked about here today and when we go back we are going to start developing those concrete plans. I would be presumptive if I tried to give you those things here this afternoon, but I would like to say to you that I think we have got the climate and I think we have got the personnel and the people to move, probably move much faster and further than some of our very famous Northern cities. Thank you.

Thank you. Minneapolis? Followed by Lake County, Illinois. They are, what did you say, the best educated, richest community in the country, is that it? Okay.

Well, since you aren't calling on everyone I think you probably called on Minneapolis to get diversity. We are one pf those cities that has 3% Negro population, but we also have a school that has 80% Negroes. Now, we have just desegregated that school, but unless community action is working closely with our board of education and in a building program there we did have the Human Relations task force who worked with a Michigan State survey team and our school officials to get this done. And as we move ahead now in this program there is an advisory committee made up of human relations and civil rights groups to the superintendant, the Urban League and NAACP and all of these groups. One of the specific things that we will do as we return is pull togehter our board, the board of the Urban League with the school board and administrative staff and give them a report on this conference and from there develop some specifics as to where we will go in the future. Another thing, because of the real relationship that the housing and redevelopment authorities and the city planning commission each working in its area, that we will, the school board and the Urban League, initiate a meeting withthe housing authority and the redevelopment authority who are involved in urban renewal. We have a relocation proposal which is meeting some resistance, a recommendation from the relocation subcommittee of the planning commission to call for no Negroes having to move or be relocated in any area that has more than 20% Negro population already. We feel that these three organizations especially, city organizations, housing authoity, planning commission, school board, that we can work jointly on this project. These will be two of the things that we will do immediately as we get back to town.

Thank you. Lake County, Illinois. And while the microphone - I think you will have to come meet it. I would be quite reluctant to call on the next person because I know he is reticent to speak, John Henry Martin finds it very difficult to speak so we can get him to shut up before 3 o'clock. (Laughter)

Ned Hutchens, President of the Board, Lake County Urban League. I would like to compliment Whitney Young on his fund raising ability and we all know that Whitney is great in this area and when his talents were bent to find the dollars to get this conference going did put me in somewhat of a quandry though which is perhaps unique to our position in that the telegram that was sent out signed by Whitney and Dr. Fisher of Teachers College invited a four man team to represent the school board and the superintendant of the schools and in ~~Way/County~~ Lake County, since we are a new county League this presented me with the problem of finding one person among seventy school superintendants and about 500 board members to offer them a free trip to New York, so next time Whitney gets enough money togehter if he is going to invite us he is going to have to double the number. This also presents us really with what we regard to be our first task when we return home. The five of us who did come, I think, did learn a tremendous amount and I know we have been greatly stimulated by the conference. We have consented to look at some of our problems in a different light, but our first task we feel will be to reconvene this conference as a subgroup back home so that we can involve those school boards and other school superintendants who are part of our total community in a way that we hope will offer a united front that cuts across school district boundaries and community boundaries and give us an opportunity to take advantage of both the problems and the opportunities that we have in our various districts. Now, I think, secondarily, and perhaps most important, is the problem thatI see that we face in Lake County that has not been touched upon, particularly deeply at this conference. Lake County is a well-to-do community north of Chicago, and it really is in large part a segment of the suburban ring that you have talked about as an escape hatch or an escape valve for what is happening in the cities, and so I see that there is a - in our situation - a unique opportunity to respond in some ways to Dr. Alexander's persistent question as to what is quality, what do we mean by quality, and being simultaneously an Urban League board president and president of a school board in an all-white community what I will look forward to when we get back and have a chance to sit down and cut across some of these district and community boundaries is the opportunity that I think the problem of the integrated community offers us in the non-integrated community, this is where we will look for some help and some solutions.

Our last one that I am going to call on from Mt. Vernon, New York, one of the many communities in the Weschester Urban League. Who is speaking for - I was afraid of that - John Henry Martin, the superintendant of the schools. Okay, John.

With that introduction you ought to be, but I will spare you, Harry. I have been asked to do a thing that I do with pleasure. I would like to formally move that Teachers College and the Urban League undertake now the planning of a repetition of this conference for the unfinished business that will undoubtably still remain next year. You want reasons?

Professionally I am a book reviewer and so I am very word conscious. Every single one of the panelists this morning excepting the Colonel who volunteered, Mr. Puryear in introducing the Commissioner, all of them has talked about quality integrated education rather than integrated quality education, and I think that it might be worthwhile for your committee, if we are going to have regional conferences or future conferences to listen to the tape and see if this comes out more effectively because it is the way it has been cess. For example, I think that whether we call it quality integrated education or integrated quality education or whether we concern ourselves or desegration, and if I can express my own bias here, we have slipped quite frequently here into using the two terms rather interchangably and my own bias is that there is a world of difference between desegregation and integration and my own bias is that we have focused on desegregation rather than - I souldn't say rather than, but we have focused on desegregation without taking into account the meaning and the demention of integration, which is a far more complex - in my view - problem as such. It is when we talk about desegregation, we are talking it seems to me and I will express my own biases here in this summation, we are talking about the range, if you will, or the balance between the various groups in a community school system or in some area. This, it seems to me, is quite different from the complex problem of providing a kind of educational system that does indeed open up opportunities for all youngsters. John Fisher said yesterday that the main objective is to alter the character and quality of the opportunities all children can enjoy. To provide them equally with incentives to succeed and to foster a sense of intergroup acceptance in ways that are impossible when schools or students are racially, culturally, and socially isolated. Now, I submit that these kinds of opening up of opportunities, this enhancement of quality of education does not come about simply by the altering of the particular racial mix in a particular school. I happen to fully agree with Dr. Alexander that the focus of the conference should be on quality education and, I guess the reason that Frank and I were resisting it was that we thought that was the focus of the conference. At lest, that is what we wanted it to be. I think that it takes on different dimentions and different aspects in different communities. A few weeks ago I had an opportunity to participate in a statewide conference that the state of Connecticut ran for school board members and superintendants of schools at which I got some more details on the actions of Darien, Connecticut, in which this is an all white community taking definite steps toward providing quality education which they, at least the superintendant of the schools and some of the school board members believe, involves some kinds of integrated experiences. And so they arranged for an exchange with Hralem teachers and with Harlem youngsters, etc. you have all read about this because it was in the National Press including Time Magazine, etc. What interested me as I read the report of the account of the superintendant is the kinds of response that come not only from his own community, but from all over the country in support and damning every inch of this particular proposal and activity. Now, what I am trying to say here is that in an all white community like Darien, Connecticut, which I believe is all white, there may be one or two Negro families, but not very many. It is like the example given us earlier this said all day long - in reverse - and it may be that it means something, I don't know, but I just wanted to leave it as a thought.

Thank you very much. The last comment suggests something that we would like to invite from all of you or any of you when you do return to your own communities, and that is we had in planning this particular as Frank Stanley will testify some real differences in opinion on what one might really accomplish in a day and a half or two days in terms of real action or real concrete proposals. My own feeling was that unless we narrow down the area in which discussion would proceed that we simply could not deal with a problem as broad and as complex as this. And my own feeling was that we should look very carefully only at what the National Urban League and it affiliates might do in these 76 communities where there are executive directors. Frank thought we could do more and at the end of this day and a half I am willing to concede that we probably - that he was more right than I was and I think we have accomplished more, but we have not accomplished it in terms of spelling out detail proposals of stes 1, 2, and 3 which one could use when he goes back to his community and alter conditions as such. It seems to me that what we have done is to open up channels and open up avenues here for discussion, for examination and for action and for planning.and if this can be done in two days I think that the conference has met more than a modicum of sucmorning of desegregating the community since they had a six month old Negro baby in one of the families there. I am saying here that the problem of integrated education and quality education in Darien, Connecticut is quite different from that one finds in New York City or Chicago or New Orleans, and I am saying that our plans here ought to be involving an analysis and and understanding of what this difference is because it seems to me thatactions and steps can be taken on desegregation without really affecting very much the consequences of that desegregation in terms of integrated educative experiences. Now, we have been getting an accumlated research evidence on the consequences of desegregation on the Negro youngster and on the white youngster as well, and it seems to me that desegregation has improved the quality of education only when positive steps have been taken, direct steps have been taken to understand the nature of the quality in that situation and have involved the instructional staff, the administrative staff, the content of instruction, the materials used, the kinds of education experiences, the organization, etc, etc. Now, what I am trying to argue for here is that we in a planning position, if we simply gloss over and belive that if we take some steps toward desegregation which I do believe can be taken quite readily and quite quickly, if we gloss over the fact that the main job then becomes and is one of examining the demensions and taking steps for improving the quality of education for the youngsters in our schools, that in the long run we will alter racial mix but will not affect very directly positively or negatively the quality of education in our schools. Now, what I had hoped that we would come out with in this conference is some examination of what steps need to be taken. School does not run from 9 to 3. Education does not take place from 9 to 3. In fact, I faceciously once proposed the (Passel) plan for quality education. I had noted in hearing about some two dozen or more tutorial programs after school that without any question they all succeeded. The kids that for six or eight or ten years of school had not learned how to read, but in this one hour after school once a week with a person who had had no training in remedial reading, somehow the kids all learned how to read, to here the the testimony of the people who were saying this, so the Passel Plan was to tutor kids from 9 to 3 and to operate our classrooms one afternoon a week from 3 to 4 because that would save us a lot of money and obviously would be more successful. But, on a more serious vein, I am saying that there is more to education and we need to understand it, there is more to education then simply reading and writing. And This, I think, is what John Fisher was alluding to yesterday when he was saying that we ought not judge the consequences of our activities and the measuee of quality was (with) not simply how many-kids we got into a particular college or university as important as this is, but there are other dimentions in terms of self-image, aspirations, motivations, drive to achieve, values, attitudes, that this school system of ours now must look back to about a generation or two generations ago. Whhn we were concerned with the Negro we are really concerned with bring people into the mainstream of American life. And this involved more than simply being able to pass aliteracy test. And I am saying that we set our sites far too low today and we need to take alook at what is possible and essential in terms of a total educational program if we are really going to deal with quality education. Now, it is along these lines that we need to go back to our schools and our school system. We need to go back to our Urban League boards, we need to go back to our community groups and ask how effectively we can work together, we can work together in terms of moving toward a clear definition of what the goals and the objectives, what the ends we seek and what it takes. I think that our speakers yesterday morning said it and said it over again, that the time has passed for simply pointing a finger accusing one another for doing or for not doing, for lagging or for going too fast. The time has come, it seems to me for us to plan together and to find what the role each of us has in terms of achieving this ultimate, if you will, appropriate, if I can use that, and adequate, if I can use that expression, I prefer adequate and appropriate to quality which I find is simply a ____________ in many instances, I am saying we simply need to plan togehter to find out how we can play the appropriate roles for reaching this end as such, and it will be quite different in each of our communities. It will, it seems to me, not be a formula that we can all sit down and follow. The Urban League plays a very different role in my own community of Englewood or, if you will, Bergen County, now that we have gone countywide, from what it does I suspect in New Orleans or in New York City. We have to work differently in Bergen County. Our job is different in Bergen County from what it is in some other cities, but our aims are essentially the same and the goals and objectives we are trying to reach are essentially the same and while we will take different tacks, and while we will have different role to play there are different roles for each of us to play in our own communities and in our own systems. And this is not a role simply of the board of education and the school superintendatn seeking the support of the Urban League on a particular program or a particular proposal. This involves the community in planning in different stages and different ways for different purposes as such. And therewill be, I am sure, we will not all go back arm in arm singing 'We Shall Overcome', we will be going back and we will have disagreements and we will continue to fight and I am sure we will continue to argue, but if we can continue to fight and argue and discuss knowing what it is we are trying to achieve in the long run, if we can take a look at the very different kinds of roles that we might play rather than assume the mantle of leadership here and assume that thereby we will be moving ahead, then I think we will be doing something that in the long run will make a much larger contribution than some of the tactics we have used in the past as such. I can't help thinking, and this has no relationship to anything I have said, but I remeber when we were having our sit-ins and boycotts and what nots over in Englewood a few years ago, my wife talked to a very good friend of here who was picketing in front of the mayor's home and said, "You know, if this kind of thing continues we are going to have a EXODUS (~~slice~~) of some of thewhites from the public schools." And this person shook her picket sign and said, "I don't care if every white person moves out of Englewood, we want integration now." Now, I think that there is a constructive role for picketing and boycotting, etc., but one of the things that has always impressed me and one of the reasons that I have alwyas been interested in working with the Urban League is that it seems to me that its tactics and its strategies were far more appropriate toward achieving the ends that we had in mind than some of the other tactics though I realize this puts me in the position of - if I can use that dirty expression - a moderate white liberal. This conference is cooperatively sponsored supposedly by Teachers College and the National Urban League. On behalf of Teachers College, I want to say quite clearly that the initiative, the drive, the work, in fact, everything everything except the consultations was done by the National Urban League. We like this kind of cooperation and - well - I say that so that covers me. If you don't like the hotel room talk to Frank Stanley, don't call me. Seriously, on behalf of Teachers College of Columbia University, I want to thank the Urban League for coming to us and for inviting us to participate in what we think is a very significant and important venture. And now I turn it back to my very good friend, Mr. Puryear. (Applause)

Thank you, Dr. Passow. In my two minute summary - I sounded like (Carneigie), may I do something I forgot. I introduced everybody but the National Urban League staff, and it is with these that I must have a day to day contact. There are some National Urban Leaguers in the audience, will you please stand so that it goes into the records that you, too, were here. (Applause) Harry Possow is reminding me that Frank didn't do anything, it was Mrs. Woodruff that did it. Mrs. Woodruff, would you stand back there, please? (Applause) Will you join with me in another hand for Frank Stanley, because I know how much he bothered me. (Applause) Through the 71 superintendants in this room, or those who are registered, to the 105 representatives of boards of education, to the 86 Urban League board members who registered and to the 71 Urban Legue executives, Mr. Young has asked me to extend his personal thanks for taking time out of your busy schedules to attend this conference and to also indicate that quality integrated-integrated quality education means more than resources, means more than the mixing of children, means more than the involvement of parents and educators, but it also means that education, like industry and all other employers in this country must become the models toward which young Negro youth may look and see their futures and see themselves in operation. To the extent we can work in the years ahead in the same manner in which we have worked in the last two days, to this extent we belive, we not only admit that there is a problem, but that there is personal as well as professional dedication, that there will be change. Thank you very much.

(End of Meeting and Tape 4)